Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-170 *1 September 1995*

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Goal of Strikes: 'Lifting of the Siege of Sarajevo'

AU3108164995 Paris AFP in English
1618 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Aug 31 (AFP)—The objective of the attacks carried out since Wednesday against Bosnian Serb targets is the lifting of the siege of Sarajevo, an official of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation said Thursday.

"Our immediate objective is the lifting of the siege of Sarajevo," the official, who demanded anonymity, said.

The NATO air raids were also aimed at stopping the Bosnian Serbs from threatening and attacking the UN safe area, reopening Sarajevo airport and opening up the principal access routes into the city, the official said.

International, OIC Contact Groups To Meet End Sep

AU3108161895 Paris AFP in English
1556 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Aug 31 (AFP)—The international "Contact Group" on Bosnia and its Islamic counterpart are to meet at ministerial level in New York at the end of September, a French Foreign Ministry spokesman said Thursday.

The proposal was put forward by France and Morocco after talks in Paris Wednesday night between French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette and Moroccan Prime Minister Abdellatif Filali.

The Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) contact group comprises Egypt, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Turkey and Morocco. The international Contact Group is made up of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States.

The two groups, who will be holding talks at ministerial level on the sidelines of the annual UN General Assembly meeting, already met in Geneva Wednesday.

The OIC contact group is set to meet in the Malaysian capital Kuala Lumpur in early September to adopt a common position on the Bosnia conflict.

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SDS Chairman 'Pleased' With Moscow Visit

AU0109011595 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 28 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ivan Kostov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), by Petur Karaboev in Moscow; date not given: "Bulgarian Socialist Party Has No Party-Based Links to Moscow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Karaboev] Mr. Kostov, are you satisfied with your visit to Russia and your meeting with Yegor Gaydar?

[Kostov] Yes, I am pleased because I was able to confirm that their views on the main economic and political processes that are taking place coincide with ours, and our evaluations of them are based on almost identical positions. I am referring to the initial accumulation of capital by the *nomenklatura*, the prospects for the economic reform when it is carried out by the *nomenklatura*, and the consequences of this for the actual business situation. This also affects the degree of development of the market, its future, and the consolidation of private ownership.

[Karaboev] What are your impressions of the political situation in Russia?

[Kostov] Here, the process of political differentiation has gone further, and it is based on a clear awareness that the parties express specific interests. For example, the so-called Party of Power [Russia Is Our Home] expresses the interest of the central *nomenklatura* in preserving its economic and political influence and remaining in power.

Here, also, there is a much clearer expression than in Bulgaria of the interests of those wanting a return to communism through a new nationalization and confiscation of the "stolen property." Of course, those who are in power are the ones who will decide what precisely has been "stolen" and what has been earned by "honest" labor. I consider that, from the political viewpoint, the state of affairs here is more mature and the politicians have a much clearer conception of the past, present, and future. This makes the political scene in Russia more lucid than in Bulgaria, where the position of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is mainly responsible for the confusion. The BSP wants three things at once: to play the part of a radical reformer by implementing privatization; to preserve the interests of the *nomenklatura* by playing the role of a "party of power"; and lastly, to return to communism.

This state of being split into three is impossible for any party. I believe that if the Russian experience is borne out, the BSP is likely to split very soon. These three political and economic goals are in practice incompatible; either the reform is to continue, consolidating private ownership and creating a real market, or the way is to be opened for the *nomenklatura* privatization. This will make the *nomenklatura* stronger than it has been hitherto, because, until now, it merely possessed power, which it converted into income for its own members, but now it is also acquiring private property, which enhances the effect. It is impossible to declare that everything has been a false start and to demand nationalization and confiscation, for there are certainly some voices inside the BSP that have declared their opposition to privatization and want property to be confiscated. All this is simply irreconcilable.

[Karaboev] In Bulgaria, the idea still exists that the BSP has close traditional links with Moscow. Is this not a myth that we should kill?

[Kostov] No party-based links exist between the BSP and Moscow, and the reason is very simple. The BSP is a complex amalgam in which no party in Russia can recognize its own image. This is the BSP's problem. For the Russian parties, the BSP may simultaneously look like the Russian Communist Party, like Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's Russia Is Our Home party of power, and, for example, like the Yabloko bloc, who have declared themselves to be reformers. This is why none of the Russian parties regard the BSP as an allied party. They see it as something postcommunist, but early postcommunist, which itself has not yet understood what it is. For this reason, the BSP has no contacts with Russia, but is simply deceiving itself, while it closely follows the trends and intrigues surrounding power in Russia, because the forthcoming elections will bring them nothing. The problem of the lack of links with Moscow lies in the BSP, not in Russia.

[Karaboev] Are we to understand that the BSP is disoriented about what is happening in Russia and in the top echelons of government?

[Kostov] One might say that the three wings of the BSP would like to have different parties as partners. However, here in Russia these parties stand in sharp confrontation and irreconcilability. For example, the main watershed that separates democrats from the totalitarians and Bolsheviks, passes between the party of power and the communists. All this taken together really does have a disorienting effect.

[Karaboev] Is it not apparent the fact that the traditional longstanding ideological contacts are dead from the lamentable state of the Bulgarian Embassy in Moscow?

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[Kostov] It is the biggest lie that Russia is a top priority of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry. This has been evident for at least the last three years because the embassy is in a pitiable state and is unable to fulfill its tasks and functions. It is quite unacceptable for the diplomats of a country that gives priority importance to its relations with Russia to drive around in beaten-up 20-year-old cars. This makes it absolutely impossible for them to make any business or diplomatic contacts. Against the background of the prices here, which are the third highest in the world, their salaries are simply pathetic and turns the diplomats into people who have to stay at home and have no active views. In this situation, it is clear that everything is left to the initiative of the companies; in my view, the tragedy in the economic relations between Bulgaria and Russia begins precisely here.

[Karaboev] Can you describe to us more precisely what this tragedy consists of?

[Kostov] Very often, companies say that we have made a mistake in abandoning Russia and allowing the system of constrained relations to collapse by which the economic managers were compelled from above to conclude large long-term contracts. Now, the situation is such that the economic *nomenklatura* is privatizing the state company for its own benefit, making it a sham state company that sells its products in return for bribes. To conclude a deal, the businessman has to give a bribe to the manager of the state company—this is true in both Bulgaria and Russia. It is this that makes trade very expensive and insecure, because no one risks signing long-term contracts. The director of the state company knows that he will not hold his post for ever, so he milks the company while he is there, not risking anything long term, from which his successor will be the one to benefit.

In this context, no market foundation exists for economic relations, but only bureaucratic and *nomenklatura*-type deliveries. The *nomenklatura*-type market is based on strange rules—presents, foreign trips, visits at the expense of foreign companies—all of which are things that normally have no connection with business deals. The real market exists behind the *nomenklatura* market, but only as a means for extracting the bribes, and it exists only as long as it provides the bribes.

For this reason, Moscow, for example, is a city under siege. No one can freely bring a few tons of watermelons or tomatoes into the town to sell because he will find nowhere to sell them—the markets are controlled by organized crime. For this reason, in the market by Kiev Station the prices of the goods are sky high, and the tomatoes come from the Netherlands. Bulgarians should know about the experience of some Russian deputies who drove a truck loaded with vegetables from Tatarstan to Moscow and found that they had to pay bribes to the police at 16 points along the route to the capital. In practice, no one is able to get to Moscow.

[Karaboev] Does this mean that for the time being, one cannot establish a normal trading relationship with Russia?

[Kostov] One has to destroy this system of *nomenklatura* deliveries and create a normal market, otherwise there will be no trade, but merely the enrichment of people on both sides who are close to the managements of the state enterprises. This is not trade, but a deformed *nomenklatura*-type market.

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Czech UN Troops Will Be Last To Leave Croatia

LD3108165695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech soldiers with the UN forces in Croatia will be the last to withdraw, UN Confidence Restoration Operation General Staff sources in Zagreb told Czech radio.

Czech soldiers should withdraw from Croatia by 31 December of this year. On that day, the mandate of the UN troops in Croatia expires, with the exception of East Slavonia, which is still controlled by Croatian Serbs. The withdrawal of Blue Helmets does not involve army observers, who will stay in the area.

Klaus Comments on European Forum Meeting

LD3108202395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus took part in today's European Forum, held in the Austrian resort of Alpbach. The forum was dedicated to the expansion of the European Union. The main issue discussed during Klaus's short visit to this Alpine resort was the EU membership of countries from Central and East Europe. Austrian Vice Chancellor Schuessel, Polish Foreign Minister Bartoszewski, and Slovene Prime Minister Drnovsek also took part in the talks. After the meeting, Prime Minister Klaus talked with our special correspondent Lucie Weissova.

[Begin recording] [Weissova] Prime Minister, today you presented your views on how the EU should work. Do you not regard such speech as a bit premature or courageous or even audacious, when the Czech Republic, which is not even a member of this organization, is applying for membership?

[Klaus] I do not see it as audacity. On the contrary, we are constantly asked what we think about the EU, what our views are. Sometimes, when we express our views, they appear audacious.

I think that today's talks proved a point, about which I am really happy. I think that everyone who listened to the discussion witnessed an exceptional unity of views between the Polish foreign minister, the Slovene prime minister, and the Czech prime minister. I regard this as very positive because we are often criticized for speaking different political languages and for competing against each other. I do not think anything like that occurred today. Today solidarity between these countries prevailed, which is something I always favor. I am always sorry to be criticized for a lack solidarity because that is not a card play. [end recording]

Army Considers Purchase of U.S. F-18 Fighters

AU3108165395 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 30 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Jaroslav Kmenta: "The United States Is Offering the Army Discarded Aircraft"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The controversial debate on the method of rearming the domestic fighter air force took an unexpected turn when the United States offered to sell the Army modern F-18 A Hornet fighter-bombers from one of its aircraft carriers.

Until now, it had merely been thought that the old Soviet MiG-21 fighters would be modernized or that U.S. F-16's would be purchased or that, for the moment, nothing would be purchased. At the same time, the modernization of the Soviet MiG's had the upper hand in the debates—the Army had already announced a tender for building two prototypes of these aircraft.

Major General Pavel Strubl, the Air Force inspector, has confirmed that the F-18 aircraft will be demonstrated in the Republic soon. "Two weeks ago, I held talks with representatives from the company that sold the F-18 to Finland and Switzerland. They offered to demonstrate and sell the aircraft in our country," declared Strubl. According to Strubl, however, only the minister can decide on the purchase.

Deputy Defense Minister Miroslav Kalousek said in this context that it is appropriate to consider all of the possibilities for rearming. "So far, however, the ideas about purchasing Western aircraft have always foundered on the high price," he added.

U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry is also supposed to discuss the details of the offer directly in the Republic. Defense Ministry officials, however, have so far only confirmed that Perry will arrive in Prague in mid September and that he will take part in joint exercises involving the U.S., German, and Czech Armies at Boletice, near Cesky Krumlov.

The U.S. offer would be advantageous for the Army only in the event that the state-of-the-art F-18 A aircraft were supplied at a price far lower than they normally are and also if the possible purchase were accompanied by an offer to produce certain components for these aircraft under license in domestic enterprises. The Americans are apparently willing to discuss the two conditions. The Army has not yet made public the price of the aircraft on offer.

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Minister Initiates Inquiry Into T-72 Tender

AU3108221695 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 30 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "km": "Holan Asked Belehradek's Office To Check Into the Tender for Tank Modernization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The course of the public tender for modernizing the dated Soviet-designed T-72 tanks, which involves deliveries worth billions of korunas, will be checked upon by the Ministry for Economic Competition. The arms factories that failed in the tender and subsequently challenged the regularity of the selection have thus achieved what they wanted.

Defense Minister Vilem Holan has decided to ask his government colleague, Minister for Economic Competition Stanislav Belehradek, to have his office check into the tender commission's course of action. "By taking this step, the minister wants to forestall media speculation and prove that everything took place in accordance with the regulations," Ales Dolezal, the minister's adviser, declared.

Belehradek's office will examine only the procedural aspect of the tender, not its substantive part. That is, it will look into not the economic and technical qualifications of the competing firms but the possible violation of the law on public orders.

Dolezal said that Holan had also asked the ministerial inspection authority to check into the tender. Because he did not specify with what exactly the inspection authority should deal, it is generally assumed that it will focus on possible corruption among Army officials involved in the modernization of the T-72 tank.

The most emphatic protest against the results of the tender was raised by the influential French firm Sagem, which had bid for the most lucrative part of the order—the firing control system. Sagem addressed a protest letter to most Czech Government ministers, in which it claimed that the law had been violated in the tender proceedings.

The engineering giant Skoda Plzen, which did not succeed in the tender for the engine and the gearbox, has also protested against the course of the tender and demanded that its toughest competitor—the Israeli firm Nimda—be eliminated from the tender. According to Skoda, Nimda did not pay in time the deposit required to enter the tender.

Holan has called on Belehradek to also refute the claim of the weekly RESPEKT that, in contravention of the law, several votes had been taken to determine the winner of the tender for the firing control system.

[Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech on 30 August on page 2 carries a 200-word report by "fp, CTK" entitled "Holan Asked Belehradek for Inquiry Into Tender for the Modernization of T-72 Tanks." The report states that Stepan Popovic, president of the Union of Industry and Transportation, sent a letter to Defense Minister Holan, in which he "expressed great alarm over the present system of distributing strategic military orders" and called on Holan to "support the business activities of Czech companies, in the interest of the Czech economy as a whole."]

Probity of Tender Questioned

AU3108221495 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 35, 28 Aug-3 Sep 95 p 6

[Article by Jaroslav Spurny: "13-Billion Tender for Tank; Ministerial Commission Voted Until the Outsider's All-Out Victory"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The 13-billion-koruna [Kc] public tender for the modernization of the T-72 tank was expected to be merciless from the beginning, and the arms makers did not disappoint those expectations. The order's magnitude is such that it represents a tempting bite for even the world's largest manufacturers. In fact, for most of them it represents more than their current annual sales volume. The search for the winner was therefore understandably accompanied by the feverish activity of various pressure groups, and many complaints were made about alleged breaches of the declared rules. Now that the ministerial commission has pronounced its verdict, these complaints have received new nourishment: The defeated firms make no secret of their suspicion that corruption was at play. They refer, first and foremost, to the suspicious course of voting and the inexplicable reversals of jury members' views. While the ministry and members of the commission deny any manipulation, many uninvolved experts admit their bewilderment over the selection. The fact that civil servants mostly refuse to speak about the course of the tender, and, if they say something, their arguments are too general and hazy, does not make the whole matter any more transparent, of course.

How People Voted

The Kc6 billion order for the modernization of the fire-control system produced the most surprising winner, given the course of the tender. Before the commission's vote, the bids of the nine participating firms were examined by a five-member group of experts from the Military Repairs Plant at Novy Jicin (where the tank will be assembled in the years to come). Besides putting forward their own standpoint, these experts asked three military research institutes—at Slavicin, Vyskov, and

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Prague—for their appraisal. The researchers and members of the expert team eventually unequivocally agreed upon the candidate for winner of the tender—the French firm Sagem. A letter containing this decision was sent to the seven-member commission appointed by the Ministry of Defense that was to announce the final verdict.

During an initial discussion, all seven members of the commission spoke unanimously in favor of Sagem. Immediately thereafter, two jurors were replaced, and, in the next phase of preparations for the vote, Sagem won again, but the ratio was only 5:2. The "real" vote was to be taken on 1 August, yet, after Sagem's 4:3 victory, this vote was declared "preliminary." When members of the commission met a week later to make the final decision, five hands were raised, totally unexpectedly, for an outsider—the Italian firm Galileo (in the assessment from Novy Jicin and in the research institutes' appraisal, Galileo finished only fifth).

What makes this final decision all the more surprising is the fact that two men from the Military Repair Plant in Novy Jicin—director general Oskar Sima and technical director Adolf Vermirovsky—were sitting on the commission. They both eventually supported Galileo's bid and, thereby, assumed a stand against their own experts. Why? The first is unable to reply—he has departed for vacation. Adolf Vermirovsky claims that he assessed the bids from "other aspects" than the mere flawlessness of design and that the technical group had only an advisory vote. However, Director Vermirovsky refuses to reveal what these "other aspects" were and according to which criteria the winner was ultimately chosen: "That would only create complications and plenty of unnecessary comments."

Deputy Defense Minister Miroslav Kalousek is just as tight-lipped. He admits that two members of the commission were replaced, but this reportedly happened before the official appointment of the whole team. He cannot comment on the course of the vote, but the minutes reportedly suggest that, in the legal sense, everything proceeded without fault. Likewise, he is unable to comment on the technical aspects of individual bids because he is no expert.

But It Does Move

A layman can scarcely assess which bid really was the best—the technical documentation is immensely complex. The core of the fire-control system, the so-called gyroscope, for example, is made manually, and at least five years of training are needed to master this activity.

Besides professional incompetence, there is yet another matter that warrants caution when criticizing competitors in such tenders: After the fall of the Iron Curtain, interest in tanks has declined in the Western world, and their manufacturers are desperately looking for new markets. A fierce competition is under way, and firms publish with delight compromising materials about their competitors. Nevertheless, it is possible to glean from available materials that the ministry's decision regarding the winner, the firm Officine Galileo, was not only unexpected but also somewhat risky.

Until last year, Galileo was part of the state-owned mammoth arms maker Efim, which has gone bankrupt, leaving behind debts of over $1 billion. Galileo itself made a loss of over $25 million, which were drowned in the project of a new Italian tank, Ariete. Galileo—and this is what matters—supplied for the Ariete prototype the fire-control system, which repeatedly failed during demonstrations before Italian parliament members. The Italian Parliament immediately halted the project, and the money the firm invested in research has been lost. But even this system, which the Italians themselves have rejected, cannot be fitted onto the T-72: The Ariete tank is twice as heavy and the gunner sits on the opposite side.

Technology and Politics

The sum of Kc6 billion will be paid by the Army also for the modernization of the tank's drive train—the engine and the gearbox. There were only two candidates for the winner of this tender—the Israeli firm Nimda and Skoda Plzen. The Czech firm has been trying for several years, through the RDP Group arms consortium, to modernize the tank for the Czech Army. But this time it went into the tender under its own name. The RDP Group battered its reputation in Army circles 18 months ago when its then director, Jan Vlcek, tried to push through the project of building a factory for T-72 tanks in Iran. What is more, when trying to convince Minister Dlouhy, Vlcek falsely argued that the Military Repairs Plant in Novy Jicin, which falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defense, had tentatively approved of the project.

Within the framework of preparations for the tender, Skoda built a modernized prototype. Even in this case, a French firm is behind the bid—SESM, which supplied both the gearbox and the engine. Following a French Government decision, SESM had to withdraw from Arab markets some time ago and is also looking for new markets.

The tender was eventually won by the Israelis and, the same as in the case of the fire-control system, the choice met with astonishment and protests. Nimda promises the English-made Perkins engine and the U.S.-made

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Allison gearbox, both of which are manufactured in inch measurements. This represents an insurmountable problem for Czech companies that will cooperate with the Israelis. Moreover, the engine does not fit into the T-72, and the tank will have to be rebuilt.

According to Director Vermirovsky, those fears are groundless. Nimda will allegedly meet the condition of the tender for an engine designed in the metric system. The question is: When? The first prototypes of the modernized T-72 tank should be available in approximately one year, and, if Nimda is to start from scratch, this is a murderous deadline. Even Vermirovsky admits that the delivery deadlines promised by Nimda were "the longest." He refuses to speak about specific dates. "That is a question of fine-tuning the contracts," he adds.

One cannot speak only about technical problems. The commission's decision makes sense from one viewpoint. It will not be possible to sell the tanks to the risky Arab markets, which were once Skoda's unconcealed target: Arabs simply will not buy an Israeli product.

Prime Minister Outlines Proposed 1996 Budget

AU3108174795 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 30 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Eva Seifertova: "Klaus Is Teeming With Budget Optimism; Czech Government Expects a 2-Percent Real Growth of Budgetary Expenditure Next Year"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Reducing the redistribution of resources through the state budget and lowering the share of the state budget in the GDP are among the basic goals of state economic policy, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said during yesterday's consultative meeting of government ministers on the draft state budget for 1996.

Klaus went on to say that a balanced state budget for 1996 is being proposed. State budget expenditure should grow 11 percent, compared with this year's expected expenditure, which represents real growth of expenditure by roughly 1.7 to 2 percent. As in previous years, the government expects next year's state budget to have the standard stabilizing influence on monetary policy. According to the prime minister's words, the government definitely does not intend to draft next year's budget as a deficit budget.

The draft state budget for next year is based on an analysis of macroeconomic trends for 1996, which, according to Klaus, assumes the continuation of current, essentially successful, trends. Klaus's Cabinet assumes a GDP growth of 4.4 percent. The rate of inflation should not exceed the ceiling of 9.3 percent next year.

Klaus said that he expected a moderate rise of the average rate of unemployment to 3.7 percent. At the end of the year, when unemployment usually goes up, it definitely should not exceed 4 percent.

Next year's balance of trade deficit should, according to the government's projections, be roughly the same as this year, even though its exact magnitude is difficult to estimate.

The prime minister admitted that there were two government departments with a growth rate of expenditure that visibly exceeds the budget average. Vaclav Klaus named the Ministry of Interior, with an 18-percent projected growth of budget expenditure, and the Ministry of Education, with a 15.5 percent projected growth of budget expenditure, compared with the expected reality for 1995. The government wants to spend state funds more efficiently and therefore wants to declare a program of saving measures. As the prime minister literally said, "we are toying with the figure of a 3-percent cut" in administrative expenses.

According to the prime minister's words, a principal change will lie in the cessation of the flow of money from the National Property Fund to pay off old state debts.

Vaclav Klaus believes that the final version of the 1996 state budget could be approved on 20 September, whereupon the executive power will submit it to parliament.

Development of Macroeconomic Indicators (in percent)

	1993	1994	1995*	1996**
GDP	-0.9	2.6	3.6	4.4
Inflation	20.2	10.0	10.0	9.3
Unemployment	3.5	3.2	3.5	3.7

Footnotes: * expectation; ** government prognosis

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Economic Situation in First Half of 1995

AU3108223495 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Aug 95 p 7

[First of two installments of a report by "vac," "based on Czech National Bank, Czech Statistical Office, Finance Ministry, and Industry and Trade Ministry documents": "The Direction of the Economy Was Up in the First Half; the Economic Situation in the Czech Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A typical feature of the economic development was the gradually increasing productivity of the Czech economy. The macroeconomic balance and stability remained a typical trait that has been maintained since 1992. Although the transformation process was completed in principle by the implementation of the last extreme systemic measure—namely, the completion of the second wave of privatization—last year, the hitherto created market environment has not sufficiently harmonized the economic structural changes with the possibilities of the production sectors. This is reflected above all in the growing trade deficit and the increased difficulties in connection with the intention to produce a gradual reduction of inflation.

Productivity of the Economy

The assumed objectives of the government economic policy for the entire 1995 will be fulfilled in the dynamics of the development (expected GDP growth of between 3 and 4 percent) and in maintaining the balanced budget, but the rate of inflation will hardly drop below 10 percent to the expected 9 percent or even less. The convertibility of the currency will be achieved, but maintaining the present rate of exchange will have an adverse effect on some economic processes. The rate of unemployment will be lower than expected this year.

The GDP will reach (according to the author's estimate) 500 billion korunas [Kc] in current prices. Hence, in comparison with the first half of last year, it will increase by more than 3.5 percent (in adjusted comparable prices), with the pace of growth reaching 3.9 percent in the first quarter and approximately 3.5 percent in the second quarter. The main driving force of the economic recovery was not only the domestic demand in the form of household consumption but also, and perhaps especially, the greater increase in fixed assets, so beneficial for the economy at this stage. Nevertheless, the declining tendency in the growth of exports of goods and services that began last year has strengthened significantly and, thereby, also its share in the aggregate demand. Under the conditions of the Czech economy, it is necessary to interpret this as a negative signal because exports are an important factor in the development of a small open economy.

The aggregate supply growth has depended mostly on the increase in imports, but industrial and construction output also significantly rose, while agricultural production stagnated. In the market services sector, only a moderate increase continued, in comparison with the preceding periods, and a decline in the real government consumption indicates that the volume of nonmarket services has a rather declining trend.

Productivity of the economy in the first half in comparison with the first half of last year, measured per capita, increased just like the GDP did. Labor productivity of the economy gauged in relation to the economically active people rose at a somewhat slower pace (by approximately 3 percent) because the number of economically active people rose.

Macroeconomic Stability

It is, among other things, mostly the Czech National Bank that is responsible for maintaining the macroeconomic balance and stability. To maintain the relative stability of purchasing power and the exchange rate of the koruna requires, however, ever more foreign intervention by means of indirect economic tools. The very acceleration of the economic growth has an impact on the potential increase in the pace of inflation. In the first half of this year, however, a fast growth of wages continued at the rate of approximately 15 to 18 percent, while the productivity of labor rose at a substantially slower pace. It is, above all, an inflow of more or less speculative short-term capital that could result in inflationary pressure. The dissolution in the economy of last year's budget surplus in the amount of almost Kc10 billion has also affected inflation. This development promoted an acceleration of the growth of money supply that rose at the end of June, in comparison with the same period last year, by 16.5 percent (for healthy development this year, the Czech National Bank expects an increase in M2 of 14-17 percent). The source of the increase in monetary supply was, above all, the overall growth of foreign assets by almost 50 percent. The most important weighting component in the overall banking assets, namely the koruna credits for enterprises and population reached approximately Kc810 billion at the end of June and were 23 percent higher than a year earlier. The reduction in the net credit for the government then, the reduction of the surplus balance on the National Property Fund account, and boosting banks' capital stock and reserve fund worked toward a reduction in money supply.

Currency notes and coins, and current accounts, i.e., transaction money M1, declined relatively strongly

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in the first half of this year—supply of currency increased in the process, while current accounts were significantly reduced. Foreign currency deposits also declined, which testifies to a more favorable interest rate by koruna deposits and, at the same time, to the trust in Czech currency. Term deposits show a relatively large growth—they increased by Kc100 billion in comparison with June 1994, i.e., by 30 percent.

To create conditions for a medium-term growth of non-inflationary nature, the Czech National Bank resorted on 22 June to an increase in the discount interest rate from 8.5 percent to 9.5 percent and the Lombard rate from 11.5 percent to 12.5 percent and, at the same time, to an increase of the compulsory minimum reserves to 8.5 percent of all types of primary deposits. These changes should gradually be reflected in a withdrawal of Kc13 billion from the market to the central bank. The spinoff effect should enhance the impact up to fivefold. Beginning on 3 August, short-term obligations of commercial banks toward foreign entities must not exceed short-term claims by more than 30 percent or Kc500 million, whichever is more.

Inflation Development

The rate of inflation reached 10 percent in June, i.e., a little more than the reduction of its pace this year would require (and a significant increase in the price of housing will only be reflected in the growth of inflation in the second half). Consumer prices were 10 percent higher in June in comparison with the same period last year, industrial manufacturers' prices 7.4 percent higher, construction work 10.7 percent higher, and prices of agricultural producers 10.8 percent higher. The purchasing power of the koruna remained approximately at the expected level, the rate remained firm, above all, in respect to the German mark and the dollar, and moved only within the fixed koruna regime. The medium Kc/$ rate was 26.11 in June (29.59 a year earlier) and Kc/mark 18.66 (17.47 a year earlier), i.e., a development that corresponds to the change in the exchange rate relation between the two important convertible currencies. The increase in foreign currency reserves contributed to the maintenance of stability of the exchange rate. These reserves rose $2.9 billion in the entire banking system during the first half, to reach $11.8 billion at the end of June. The entire increase of foreign currency reserves was concentrated in the Czech National Bank, where the reserves reached $9.2 billion in comparison with $6.2 billion at the end of last year. The gross debt increased, according to estimates, by some $3.5 billion, to reach $14 billion at the end of the first half of 1995.

The state budget showed a surplus of Kc10.4 billion, with revenues of Kc211.1 billion and expenditures of Kc200.7 billion. The higher-than-expected revenues came from value-added tax and consumer tax, and on the liabilities side, the subsidies to subsidized organizations exceeded the plan.

Arms Trade Statistics for Jan-Jun 95 Released

AU3108174695 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 30 Aug 95 p 6

[CTK report: "375 Trade Licenses for Military Materials Awarded in the First Half of 1995"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—A total of 375 trade licenses for deliveries of military materials were awarded in the Czech Republic in the first half of 1995, 69 percent of the 542 licenses awarded last year, Kamil Cermak, press spokesman of the minister of industry and trade, announced yesterday.

The number of import licenses awarded in January-June this year was 157. The value of the imported material amounted to $33.4 million—that is, 77 percent of the overall value of military imports in 1994.

Import licenses secured, first and foremost, components essential to maintain the Czech Army's combat readiness. The main import item was aircraft technology (67.3 percent), chiefly engines, followed by electronics (10.8 percent), and ground vehicles (9.9 percent). From the territorial viewpoint, most imports came from Russia, Slovakia, and France.

The number of export licenses awarded in the first six months of the year was 218, for a total of 51 countries (18 European, 15 Asian, 10 African, and 8 from the American continent). The value of exports [of military materials] in the first half of the year reached $55 million, which was 28 percent of the total value of 1994 exports.

Overall, exports to 37 countries were realized. Again, aircraft technology accounted for the lion's share (46.7 percent), followed by ground vehicles (22.6 percent), weapons (10.6 percent), and technical services (5.6 percent). From the territorial viewpoint, most Czech military exports went to Bangladesh (L-39 aircraft), India (special version of the T-815 truck), Egypt (aircraft components), and Turkey (supplies of Czech CZ-75 pistols for the police).

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Daily Sees Kovac, Opposition in Anti-Meciar Plot

AU0109000595 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 30 Aug 95 p 3

[Commentary by Juraj Fuchs: "Against the Ethics and Principles of Democracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] History is life's teacher. It is a pity that Michal Kovac has not learned from it. He was also in the United States on a diplomatic mission. He failed. Utterly. The outcome of his visit has proved that he is not good at diplomacy. He admitted this after his "triumphant" return. Unfortunately, the disastrous path of his future presidency is being mapped out. The messenger boy from across the ocean, the cocreator of "concern" and "alarm" is not good at domestic policy either.

By means of his new activities, M. Kovac is imprinting himself on, even hustling his way into, the vanguard of the opposition. It accepts him hesitantly. It has no one else because it is going through not only an intellectual and moral crisis, but also a personnel one. It is incapable of finding an alternative to Meciar. Lessons "from the crisis-ridden development of concern and alarm" are the only source of its political life or, rather, eking out a living. Often from foreign funds. Its program consists of anti-Meciarism and negativism. This will not satisfy the voters. Almost a year has passed since the opposition's election defeat. During this period, it has not developed a new, alternative positive program. It repeats, even parrots the same thing ad nauseam. It is incapable of being specific. As it does not have a concept, it has neither a strategy nor tactics. It has not learned from modern history. It is as good at this as M. Kovac.

Following its election defeat, the opposition also neglected its basic moral-political and civic-democratic duty. This vacuum has created ideal scope for the plotter of the parliamentary putsch of 9 and 11 March 1994, M. Kovac, to repeat his destructive activity. After all, none of the leaders of the political parties has the moral authority and strength to conduct a democratic contest for leadership, more precisely for the self-determining right and preeminence to be the leader of the opposition. Meciar came out on top in such a contest and won. He conducted himself democratically, although they brought him down undemocratically twice. The leaders of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], and Democratic Union sense that they do not have the moral credit or ability to be the leader of the opposition. Let us contemplate this together: Which of them could it be? Carnogursky, who allied himself with the communists? Weiss, who drove the SDL into the arms of the KDH and is happy that the SDL's program is more right-wing than that of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] but, at the same time, is saying it is social democratic and is just about inviting his comrades to join the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia because he feels that the SDL is the posthumous child of totalitarianism? And Moravcik? He is in parliament thanks to forged petition sheets.

The nation feels intuitively that the sell-off of national property abroad programed by the opposition is not a solution for either the present or the future. It has realized that it is necessary to overcome the problems of the 40-year heritage of totalitarianism. Therefore, it trusts the more demanding program and projects devised by V. Meciar's government and rejects the prospect of a banana republic. In other words, the opposition's song, sung with honey-coated mouths, has a quaver in it; the nation has seen through it.

The opposition, without ethics and without a program for Slovakia's economic prospects and prosperity, presents a picture of intellectual and political poverty. Therefore, a "leader" without any elementary moral integrity suits it: M. Kovac, known for his improvisations and imported prefabrications in domestic and foreign policy.

Throughout October 1994, Weiss, Carnogursky, and Moravcik plotted with M. Kovac on how to reverse the election result and not relinquish office to the victor, V. Meciar. This was contrary to the principles of ethics and democracy. The president, in an attempt to break up the HZDS, did not entrust Meciar with forming a government. He did so a month later. The new plot against democracy had not succeeded, which his foreign advisers, supporting the authority of an amateur on crutches, had also recognized.

Now, they have come up—compared with March 1994, openly- with a new conspiratorial scheme involving M. Kovac. They have fabricated the lie that Meciar will submit his resignation in the fall and that M. Kovac must not accept it. The president, not even knowing the reasons for the supposed resignation, has declared that he will not accept it. This is testimony of President M. Kovac's moral poverty. Carnogursky has now come to the conclusion that Meciar's government was democratically elected for four years; so, it has to govern.

Apparently, the opposition does not want early elections, it does not want the government's resignation to be accepted, it does not want to govern, it does not want... But it does not know how to say anything positive; it does not in fact know what it wants. It just takes refuge in lies, incriminations, and fabrications and seeks the assistance of Sorosites (leaders big and small do not

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forget about themselves) and Percheronists. Every government also makes mistakes. The opposition just wants to live parasitically on some of its mistakes. A program of negativism cannot bring anything positive to Slovakia.

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Editorial Views U.S. Pressure on Bosnian Serbs

AU3108134195 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Aug 95 p 3

[Editorial by Endre Aczel: "United States at War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnian Serbs have been at war with the United States since 30 August.

However, contrary to many people's belief, the U.S. planes flying in NATO's contingent are not retaliating for the (allegedly) Serbian massacre on the Sarajevo market on 28 August, they are not taking revenge on the murderers for the death of the 37 peaceful citizens. This is only an excuse. The bomb attacks are actually the most extreme means of exerting pressure on the Bosnian Serb leadership. The Americans want to make Karadzic and his companions understand that they have no other choice but to accept the U.S. Government's overall peace plan, according to which they will have to give up one-third of the Bosnian territories they have occupied.

This is the essence, everything else is humbug. The Clinton government's prestige is at stake here, if you like, the possible reelection of the U.S. President who is currently in office. What is lying on the table now is the first ever overall U.S. peace plan—at the most, the Clinton government only added its name to the previous ones (to the Vance-Owen plan in such a way that Cyrus Vance was the U.S. secretary of state, and to the mediating group in such a way that the United States is part of it, along with four other states).

As to the fact that the Americans did not only and did not mainly want to put an end to Serbian barbarism, it is enough proof that the F-16's struck even at places where there had not been similar bloodshed but where the military condition—the weakening of the Serbian positions—of the U.S. peace plan had to be achieved: near Gorazde, Mostar, and Tuzla. Even the UN spokesman openly admitted that, this time, they want to force the Bosnian Serbs to accept the U.S. peace conditions by military means.

I also have other proof. On 27 August, Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, threatened the Serbs that they could expect the worst if no progress was made at the peace talks. The same man stopped the threats after the Sarajevo blood bath. He said that the French should decide on the nature of the "response" because they have the largest number of UN soldiers in the area. However, at this point, something strange happened. The French, confuting the resolute Chirac's statements, said that the only way Sarajevo's civilian population could be protected from similar attacks was by completely demilitarizing the capital and its surrounding area. However, life has gone beyond this human-centered—and emphatically neutral—idea. Instead of the solution that would have hit both warring sides, within 25 hours, absolute preference was given to forcing the Serbs to their knees by military means with the help of France and other powers. This is the reason I said that now there is a state of war.

The fact that the Bosnian Serb parliament actually welcomed the U.S. peace plan and declared the "Bosnian Serb Republic" ready to enter into peace talks on conditions defined by the Americans did not at all reduce the determination to implement the aerial attacks. I believe the reason is that Holbrooke's preliminary, exploratory talks did not at all go well. There is not a morsel of trust in Karadzic, whatever he and his companions may say.

The Bosnian Serbs indeed have to face a serious dilemma. If they enter into talks and submit to the U.S. ultimatum, then they can gain a lot. Washington looks with benevolence to a future in which the "Bosnian Serb Republic" enters into a confederation with the Serbian Serbs—in other words, it has understanding toward the Serbian national efforts. However, if Karadzic's side continues the war, it can lose everything. They must know, especially after the Gulf war, whom they are now facing.

Romanian Call For Reconciliation Welcomed

LD3108212195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungary welcomes the Romanian initiative for the two countries' historic reconciliation. Following yesterday's statement by Romanian President Ion Iliescu, Hungarian diplomacy is expecting concrete proposals regarding the content of the planned document, Foreign Ministry spokesman Gabor Szentivanyi said. Hungary is convinced that problems, such as the situation of national minorities, must be settled on the basis of European norms in order to achieve a historic reconciliation, he said.

The Foreign Ministry is of the view that Hungary has already proved that it respects internationally recognized borders and is improving its ties with neighboring countries on the basis of European norms.

MDF's Csapody on Basic Treaty With Romania

95CH0333A Budapest MAGYAR NARANCS in Hungarian 3 Aug 95 pp 8-9

[Interview with Miklos Csapody, Hungarian Democratic Forum parliamentary representative, by Istvan Bundula; place and date not given: "He Is, Indeed, the Prime

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Minister of Only 10.5 Million Hungarians; Today's Hungarian Society Increasingly Conducts Itself Like a Populace and Not Like a Nation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *While the Horn government describes Hungary's relationship with neighboring countries as a success, the opposition is attacking the cabinet's foreign policy with increasing fervor, and most debate in parliament concerns Hungarians in the minority in those countries. NARANCS has interviewed Miklos Csapody, the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] member of the [National Assembly] Foreign Affairs Committee; among all the MDF Foreign Affairs Committee members, he is regarded as the debating partner most favored by ruling party politicians.*

[Bundula] Do you maintain your view that the entire matter concerning basic treaties amounts to none other than a means used by the government to satisfy its hunger for success in foreign affairs?

[Csapody] Yes, and I increasingly get the impression that we are approaching the end of this dead-end street. This complex problem raises two questions. First, is it true what the prime minister so proudly claims, that although many problems exist within the borders of Hungary, we have improved our relations with our neighbors? The other question is this: To whom are these basic treaties actually addressed? Before and after the day of the foreign policy debate, the opposition blamed Gyula Horn for upsetting the foreign policy trinity that had been established by the previous government (European integration, the cause of Hungarians beyond the borders, and good neighbor relations), by declaring that his government would use every means to make European integration a reality. Viewed from this vantage point it becomes clear why they are forcing the issue of the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty. Let us recall the prolonged, forceful pressure Europe exerted to bring about the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty. This is why I am saying that we are approaching the end of the dead-end street. There are no domestic policy accomplishments, but something has to be presented to the public. Accordingly, Gyula Horn declares that the international view of Hungary has improved, and that this can largely be credited to the government's policy regarding Hungary's neighbors. Incidentally, Laszlo Kovacs's fiasco in Bucharest has shed light on many things. Visiting Bucharest under conditions that presently prevail in Romanian domestic affairs (think about the recently adopted school law) amounts to naivete, to say the least. Laszlo Kovacs is not naive, of course, he himself did not seriously believe that opportunities for consummating a basic treaty existed. But the Hungarian government wanted to produce documentary evidence of its willingness to do everything conceivable in order to consummate a basic treaty. To whom did the government want to present this documentary evidence? Primarily to the European Union. And this is where the story ends. The reason for which the Horn government upset—verbally at least—the system of priorities mentioned before is none other than the demonstration of Hungary's intent to satisfy western expectations.

[Bundula] One could say in response to this that the western political view of Hungary—notably that Hungary is not, by all means, the number one troublemaker in the region—has changed precisely as a result of events that surrounded the Hungarian-Slovak and the Hungarian-Romanian basic agreements.

[Csapody] The six parties seated in parliament do not disagree at all insofar as endeavoring to achieve integration with Europe is concerned. I, on the other hand, am skeptical, because in my view the European Union has no economic, market, or commercial interest in integrating Hungary, and therefore, it has no political interest either. Voicing an intent to expand the EU has become a rather important element of diplomatic utterances of course, but one should not draw far-reaching conclusions from such statements. The EU was interested in the consummation of a basic treaty; it was less interested in the contents of the basic treaty, and even less interested in whether the parties to already existing basic treaties comply with the terms of these treaties, i.e., at present, whether the terms of the Hungarian-Ukrainian and the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaties are observed. Regardless of how much we would like to be integrated with the EU, and regardless of the extent to which we believe that integration is a goal that needs to be achieved, the gates of Europe are in the process of being closed shut. And then, we could also say that a possible change in the western view would only amount to one half of the story, and that the other half pertains to the political reality in the region. Prime Minister Meciar has paid a visit in Bucharest the other day. He kept saying there, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa, I made a mistake, comrades, by including Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201 in the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty. And let us also not forget that two of our neighbors with whom we have already consummated a basic treaty, or are about to consummate a basic treaty, have simultaneously launched an attack on the Hungarian school system. Whether we should, or should not endeavor to establish good neighbor relations is not at issue. All parties seated in the Hungarian parliament agree that good neighbor relations must be established. But we must not approach this issue with the postsocialist mentality that prevails these days, namely that friendships must be committed to paper, because friendships exists if documents exists,

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and thus there is one fewer thing to be concerned about. Well no, this is not the case. What has happened, and what is still happening since the consummation of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty, and since Hungary has unilaterally ratified that treaty, has proved the inviability of the mentality that had prevailed in the late Kadar era, which the Hungarian government had used as its official approach to this issue. And it is by far not certain whether the West would value an almost unqualified conformance with western models only; the West might approve of a Hungarian foreign policy that shows more character, one that forcefully seeks acquiescence, but also takes a firmer stance with respect to the cause of the Hungarian minority

[Bundula] Did the MDF government pursue the latter policy?

[Csapody] The real change in the Hungarian foreign policy of those days occurred when the previous government defined its system of three policy goals. The fact that by virtue of a constitutional provision, the parent country assumed responsibility for the fate of Hungarians beyond the borders constituted a very important factor. The declaration of intent to pursue good neighbor relations was also essential. The fact is, however, that our neighbors had a negative view of this foreign policy. In criticizing this foreign policy, very many people based their views, and continue to base their views on semblances; I have in mind here the Horthy burial, and whether there is, or is no braiding on the gala uniform of the Government Guard. At the same time, Hungary acted quickly when it came to establishing diplomatic relations, as, for instance, in the case of the Baltic countries. At the start, in that extremely difficult situation, we accomplished far more in Hungarian foreign affairs than what has been recognized as of today. True, a change in the orientation of Hungarian foreign policy had already begun in the middle 1980s, and the process of change did not begin only in May 1990. In saying this, I am not referring to the alternative choice between the East and the West, but, for example, to the assumption of responsibility for Hungarians beyond the borders. Other than that, I regard the use of foreign policy to compensate for the failure to succeed in domestic policy matters as the main problem. Everyone is inclined to do this all the time, and the fact is that we were not able to fully avoid doing so either, during our term. As I have said many times before, we should stress primarily the small steps that could be taken in Slovak-Hungarian relations for example, such as increasing the number of border crossing points and establishing regional economic cooperation, so that the new bourgeoisie can find its Hungarian partners and vice versa. I am certain that with the evolution of a kind of mutual, beneficial economic reliance, the oft mentioned historical acquiescence could also be attained easier at the political level. During the past four years, this process has progressed in a more primitive fashion, and more rigidly than desired, but unfortunately, I see no guarantee that the present hasty action produces results.

[Bundula] One frequently hears opposition views to the effect that the Hungarian Government fails to appropriately consider positions expressed by Hungarian organizations beyond the borders, when negotiating basic treaties. At the same time, however, the present coalition claims that the hands of the previous government were tied because it excessively endeavored to comply with the expectations of organizations and personalities beyond the borders.

[Csapody] Despite all failures to act and the hesitation, the priority consideration that Hungary would formulate its foreign policy in due regard to the interests of Hungarians beyond the borders has been enforced in a principled manner during the previous term. This meant in part that the Hungarian Government formulated its own foreign policy, because it, and not others, was responsible for that foreign policy. And it also meant that policies involving Hungarian national communities beyond the borders were not formulated without eliciting the views of those national communities regarding proposed policies; the policies were not formulated above their heads, but in due regard to their interests.

[Bundula] Are you saying that this is not the case today?

[Csapody] The situation today is worse than it was before. Political discourse concerning Hungarians beyond the borders, as part of formulating present day governmental policies, lacks the national content. This holds true even if after some deliberation, Gyula Horn did not, in the end, dissolve the Office of Hungarians Beyond the Borders. Let us recall the days that followed the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] election victory, when Gyula Horn rushed to announce that he was the prime minister of only 10.5 million Hungarians. Well, it seems that he is, indeed, the prime minister of only 10.5 million Hungarians, and that Csaba Tabajdi is the political state secretary of the remainder of the 4.5 million Hungarians.

[Bundula] Several Hungarians from Croatia, Vojvodina, and Felvidek ["Upper country"—northern Hungary until 1920, now Slovakia] told me that the previous government had caused severe damage to these organizations by supporting those who were closely aligned with the Hungarian Government, and by casting out those who did not sympathize with the Hungarian Government. At the same time, at the rhetorical level, the Hungarian

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Government frequently talked about the indispensable unity of these organizations.

[Csapody] This must be acknowledged to be true. Incidentally, I always held that the assumption that political pluralism could only be possible within the political framework of Hungary, and that Hungarians beyond the borders had a duty to manifest national unity, was based on a very narrow-minded view. We were told that they should not conduct political discourse, because the poor things were oppressed, they should be no more than mere Hungarians. We must recognize the fact that even today, many of the 2 million or 2.5 million Hungarians in Transylvania, and especially the hundreds of thousands of these Hungarians who engage in political discourse, feel closer to the MDF, or to the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], or, for that matter, to the socialists, than to other organizations. In other words, political pluralism of this nature also exists over there. A good example for this is the fact that in one or two instances after the changes occurred in Hungary, the political course followed has also changed beyond the borders. In other words, those who had previously felt that they had been relegated to the background, believed that there time had come.

[Bundula] Could you provide specific examples?

[Csapody] In this regard the phenomenon itself, and the damaging character of the phenomenon are of the essence. The cause of Hungarians in the minority must not become the subject of partisan political rivalry in Hungary, but unfortunately, no one has been able to fully avoid making this the subject of partisan political rivalry so far. At the same time we must not despair just because the waves of division over domestic policy in Hungary can also be felt beyond the borders; these waves, however, must not be bolstered from Hungary, regardless of how tempting it would be for Hungarian political forces to do so. If a political party is very concerned about communities beyond the borders, it should provide assistance to those communities without a political advertising campaign addressed to voters in Hungary. A few Hungarian minority politicians complained to me recently asserting that they felt disregarded nowadays because they sympathized with the MDF. There is merit to many of these complaints, but we must also realize that minority existence magnifies offenses suffered by individuals. These things are characteristic of human beings; they must be recognized from the outset by Hungarian politicians working in this field, for what they are. The personal conflicts which erupt in conjunction with the distribution of funds received from Hungary for instance, should not be fueled from Hungary. These things should be dealt with cautiously, even more so because according to the latest statistical data, only six percent of Hungarian society is interested in what happens to Hungarians beyond the borders.

[Bundula] Could it be that this has to do with the wrong presentation of this issue? That, for instance, it has to do with the fact that the previous administration presented matters related to Hungarians beyond the borders—sometimes insignificant matters—as if Hungary's future depended on these?

[Csapody] The fact that only six percent of society is interested in these matters cannot be attributed to the way these issues are being presented, but to society's almost total lack of interest in its own future, and because society has fundamentally changed so as to favor its own stomach and pocket only.

[Bundula] This is somewhat understandable, because obtaining the daily bread presents a serious concern for a significant number of people.

[Csapody] Do not misunderstand me; by saying that society favors its own stomach and pocket I only stated a fact, and did not pass judgment on society. This is the way the country is today. The nation concept was the subject of debate in the late seventies and early eighties. In the course of that debate Laszlo Szorenyi drew a distinction between nation and populace; the same distinction has since been made by several individuals, and everybody has learned exactly how to interpret these terms. Well, I have a feeling that today's Hungarian society increasingly conducts itself like a populace, and not like a nation. But those who claim that anyone concerned with the fate of Hungarians beyond the borders is not to be considered a normal Hungarian of Hungary—as some have recently claimed—go a bit too far.

[Bundula] I do not think that this reflects the feelings of the general public....

[Csapody] Wait a minute, I will show you a letter.... Yes, it is here, I saved it, because I felt that it had documentary value. I quote: "If it were up to me, I would resettle you to the place where you came from, and there you could really exercise your rights." The author of this letter obviously believes that I came from Transylvania.

[Bundula] That is exactly what I had in mind before: The occasional, unwarranted overstatement of Hungarian minority affairs could prompt such foolish remarks.

[Csapody] I accept your statement, and there is no misunderstanding between you an me. I presented this letter to you not because I was personally offended by it, but to illustrate the fact that a certain feeling has gained

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strength, according to which they [as published] are concerned about "them," but not about us.... Accordingly, when I say that people favor their stomachs and their pockets, I have in mind mainly the evolution of a situation in which one person envies the fact that the other person has bread on the table. Take a look at the situation. More than 100 actors have left Transylvania, not to mention the thousands of physicians who have done the same. A majority of these people do not want to move to the West, they want to live here. And then we also have some dangerous ignorance, a laziness to think, which, [in regard to Hungarians arriving from Transylvania,] results in remarks like this: Well, the Romanians are here. But I repeat: such statements increasingly convey a sense of wondering why these people are coming to Hungary at a time of great unemployment. This is what I understand to be "bread envy."

At yesterday's demonstration in Debrecen *(27 July—the editor)* we heard a witty statement, according to which Hungary should be the loving mother of Hungarians beyond the borders, and not their confused, petty stepmother. Well, that's it. I do not expect Lajos Bokros to provide political analyses, not only because of his performance thus far, but also because I cannot expect him to view things from a vantage point other than the fiscal vantage point. He cuts funding for both hospitals and schools, and—to continue with our topic of discussion—funds earmarked for Hungarians beyond the border and for Duna TV. The fact that he does such things is natural. But it is not natural for the Hungarian Government to hide behind these measures and to wash its hands, while it unrelentingly continues to stress the importance of relations between Hungarian and Hungarian, relations which constitute an essential part of good neighbor relations.

Air Defense Missile Program To Start in 1996

AU3108134295 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 31 Aug 95 p 6

[Unattributed report: "The Hungarian Airspace Sovereignty Before Parliament—Missile Development Program To Start Next Year"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti wants to strengthen the Hungarian air defense with two parliamentary decisions. Although the military policy weight of various laws is considerably low, parliamentary approval of proposals on protecting the ability of the air force to defend the airspace at low altitude and on developing the air defense radar surveillance, information, and control systems is extremely important from the viewpoint of sovereignty over the Hungarian airspace.

The Defense Ministry expects parliamentary approval on starting the withdrawal of the close-range air defense missile systems and on starting a development program aimed at preserving and modernizing our air defense capability. In the framework of this program, through international tenders, and also taking into consideration Hungary's financial possibilities, the aforementioned modernization would take place in two phases beginning with 1996. In the first phase, from 1996 to the turn of the century, Hungary plans to purchase a "close-range" missile complex sufficient for equipping 15 air defense units, and for a further 30 air defense units in the following years, until 2005. The tenders in question would be previously examined by the Parliament's Defense Committee.

As for the expenses, the cabinet thinks we could pay for the modern military technology in eight to 12 years, after a moratorium of two to three years. The official justification clearly explains the military policy background of the proposal that the government has already submitted to parliament: "The flying and air defense units of the Hungarian Army can only fulfill their basic tasks in peacetime and in war if they can reveal the flying targets in time, if they have the military technology with which they are able to take countermeasures proportional with the attack and, if necessary, to destroy the attacking airborne weapons. At the same time, in the area of defense capability, the failure of any element will affect the ability of the whole system to function. According to military experts, with its current means, the Hungarian air defense is still capable of fulfilling its tasks at intermediate altitude (1,000-3,000 meters) and high altitude (over 3,000 meters), but the system has basic shortcomings at close range and low altitude range. There is no reliable radar surveillance of airborne targets; nor is alerting and using the active arms solved."

Among the nine different types of air-defense missiles currently in operation, six types have the task to defend us from close-range and low altitude attacks; however, out of the aforementioned six types, the operational time of four types will be over in the year 2001. The remaining two types alone are not capable of fully carrying out their tasks. Therefore, the recently submitted proposal also stipulates that we must declare that the Hungarian Army can only partially fulfill the requirements of "retention and defense" stipulated in the basic defense principles.

Based on the available price offers, the systems to be purchased in the first phase would cost about 10-11 billion forints [Ft]. The purchase of missile systems planned for the second phase would cost double, namely between Ft20-21 billion. Thus, the cost of preserving

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and modernizing the air defense capability would be as high as Ft30-32 billion.

The purchasing program of radar systems would require a similar investment. In the first phase, only the basic system would be set up until 1998. This includes a central automatic-control system purchased with the help of aid supplied by the U.S. Government, the costs of a national air defense center, and the purchase of two long-range radars and their deployment at the peaks of the Bukk and Mecsek mountains. The first phase in deploying this system would cost some Ft20 billion. The parliamentary debate on guaranteeing the conditions of state sovereignty over Hungary's airspace is urgently expected.

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Air Strikes Suspended; Janvier Meets Mladic

AU0109144395 Paris AFP in English 1408 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Sept 1 (AFP)—Both NATO officials in Brussels and UN officials in Sarajevo on Friday [1 September] said that strikes against Bosnian Serb targets around Sarajevo were being suspended, apparently to allow time for peace talks between a UN commander and the military leader of the Bosnian Serbs.

However a NATO spokesman here stressed that the overall mission "is continuing."

The suspension coincided with a meeting between the overall commander of peacekeeping forces in the former Yugoslavia, General Bernard Janvier and the Bosnian Serb army commander General Ratko Mladic.

The two men met in Zvornik to discuss a three point plan that would require the Bosnian Serbs to pull back heavy weapons from around Sarajevo and end the threat of attacks on other UN safe areas and thirdly begin an immediate cessation of hostilities.

Earlier Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic announced in Sarajevo that NATO and the Western Rapid Reaction Force had ordered a pause in the strikes until Saturday, and that he was opposed to any such suspension.

Here in Brussels, NATO spokesman Florent Swijsen said the overall mission "will continue until the Bosnian Serbs take concrete measures to restore the entire security zone around Sarajevo."

UN spokeswoman Mryiam Sochacki said the pause would last "as long as necessary."

And a NATO spokesman contacted by phone in Naples said North Atlantic Treaty Organisation warplanes would continue to fly over Bosnia—but that the air strikes had been suspended.

The temporary suspension would allow "NATO and the United Nations to assess the situation" spokesman Nino Pagetta said. He added that the strikes could "recommence at any time if the order is given."

The decision was taken to calm things down before a meeting between General Bernard Janvier, commander of UN forces in the former Yugoslavia, and rebel Serb General Ratko Mladic, a UN source in Sarajevo said.

"We will only fire today if there is a real threat," said UN spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Guy Vinet.

Sacirbegovic had said there was to be a pause in the attacks from Friday through to Saturday.

The Bosnian minister added that he opposed any let-up, on the grounds that rebel Serbs had not yet pledged to remove heavy weapons from around Sarajevo.

"We have strongly taken the view that any pause is a threat to the peace process," he said in a press conference. "Events on the ground are creating a most hospitable atmosphere" for talks.

Janvier: No Serb Withdrawal of Heavy Weapons

LD3108195395 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Benoit Duquesne] We have live with us from Zagreb General Janvier, commander of the UN forces in the whole of former Yugoslavia. Good evening, General. What is the situation on the ground? Are the Bosnian Serbs indeed withdrawing? Are they removing their heavy weapons from the area around Sarajevo?

[Janvier] For the moment we have not seen any withdrawal of heavy weapons from Sarajevo. There is a rather strange calm in Sarajevo for the moment.

[Duquesne] It is being said that some weapons could be moved or hidden by the Serbs on the ground.

[Janvier] I very much hope so, as it is one of the conditions set at my level for stopping the air strikes. [sentence as heard]

[Duquesne] As we speak, are the strikes continuing, and do you have other targets that have not been hit and that you need to hit this evening or tomorrow?

[Janvier] You know, this attack is the subject of planning carried out in very close liaison between Admiral Smith, who commands the NATO forces in southern Europe, and me, and also with the subordinate general staffs. This very fruitful cooperation has continued throughout its implementation and is still continuing. We are continuing our action in order to complete the process we have started on.

[Duquesne] Can you be precise and tell us in percentage terms, for example, whether you are close to the end of the strikes?

[Janvier] I think it is very difficult at the moment to estimate precisely the damage inflicted on the Serb military capability. But we can say that in the area of the targets, which were carefully chosen to avoid collateral damage—that is to say, loss of life—since the targets are radar and related missile defenses and munitions stores or weapons factories or communications centers, these results have been quite important. They were complemented in Sarajevo by the outstanding action of

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the Rapid Reaction Force that attracted much attention, in particular the action by its artillery, Dutch, French, and British howitzers and mortars.

[Duquesne] This morning Jacques Chirac spoke of a new goal for this operation, namely ending the isolation of Sarajevo, and in particular reopening the traditional access route to Sarajevo. What do you think this might mean on the ground?

[Janvier] The goal sought is also a cessation of hostilities according to the terms of the agreement of 31 December 1994. This agreement included one on the opening of the so-called blue roads; in other words, free access to Sarajevo.

[Duquesne] A final word, General, on the French pilots, of whom we have had no word. Have you had any news about them, perhaps?

[Janvier] I will remain very prudent on this subject, since discretion is necessary to keep the best possible chance to get our pilots back and take them out.

[Duquesne] We have just had an AFP report that you yourself apparently went to Pale this afternoon?

[Janvier] I did not go to Pale this afternoon to meet the Serbs.

[Duquesne] And you don't intend to go there in the next few days?

[Janvier] Of course I am open for any meeting that the Serb authorities might want to reply to the instructions I gave them in my letters.

[Duquesne] Even in the new context, do negotiations go via Pale or via Belgrade today?

[Janvier] I think that the negotiations at my level concern the Bosnian Serbs, of course through the intermediary of the Belgrade authorities.

When I speak of negotiations, I mean listening and seeing whether the Serbs are in a position to respond to the instructions we gave.

[Duquesne] Thank you very much, General, for those last details.

NATO Provides List of Main Targets of Strikes

AU3108172695 Paris AFP in English
1651 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Naples, Italy, Aug 31 (AFP)—Herewith a list of main Bosnian Serb military targets hit by NATO air strikes which began Wednesday 0200 local time, as supplied by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's southern command in Naples.

Unless specified otherwise, all are in the Sarajevo region. A total of 23 targets were hit in all, NATO said.

—Sokolac: radar facility

—Han Pijesak: radio station command centre

—Jahorina: control centre radar, military command bunker; operations control centre for communications

—Cajnice: control centre for radio site

—Vogosca: munitions storage units

—Hadzici: weapons depot

—Pale: weapons depot; munitions depot; radio relay station

—Gorazde (eastern Bosnia): TV/FM radio antenna

—Tuzla (northern Bosnia): radar station

NATO also showed a video of air raids on artillery batteries but did not say where there were.

In Brussels, a NATO official said the main aim of the air strikes was to lift the Bosnian Serb siege of Sarajevo.

UN Officers Describe Operations Against Serbs

AU3108192495 Paris AFP in English
1854 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mount Igman, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 31 (AFP)—Heavy weapons in the multinational Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) fired opening salvoes against Bosnian Serb targets simultaneously in a "show of solidarity," the French force commander said Thursday.

Thirty artillery guns and mortars of the RRF, perched on top of Mount Igman southwest of Sarajevo, took part in Wednesday's [30 August] unprecedented bombardment of Bosnian Serb positions around the capital on Wednesday.

General Andre Soubirou, the French commander of the RRF, said the mission began at 04:45 a.m. (0245 GMT) Wednesday when all the guns fired their first shot "in a show of solidarity of all the nations" included in the force.

He added that the attacks on Serb positions were intended to "quieten the mouth that breathes fire and spits death."

A Bosnian Serb mortar attack on a Sarajevo market place Monday which killed 37 people and wounded over 100 prompted the stiffest punishment yet meted out by the West on the Bosnian Serbs who have besieged the city for 41 months.

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It was also the first operation undertaken by the RRF since arriving on Mount Igman six weeks ago. NATO planes Thursday resumed their raids on Bosnian Serb military command and control installations, communications and ammunitions dumps which began before dawn on Wednesday.

A total of 20 tonnes of explosives was unleashed by British, French and Dutch heavy weapons positioned on Mount Igman said Colonel Benoit Bescond, commander of the four 155-mm French artillery guns which took part in Wednesday's operation.

Soubirou said the RRF engaged 15 targets which included tanks, artillery and mortar positions. An additional 15 targets presented themselves as "targets of opportunity" and were also hit.

Damage assessment on the Bosnian Serb targets was difficult said the British commander of the 12 105mm light field guns fired on Wednesday, Major Simon Wolsey.

"Until I can peer into a smoking crater and give the thumbs down (sic) I cannot be certain but I am pretty confident that we neutralised the majority of the targets we fired on," Wolsey said on Thursday.

Asked if the Bosnian Serbs had learnt their lesson after coming under Wednesday's intense bombardment General Soubirou said: "That's the question we are all asking. I am still a peacekeeper, this is just something more robust."

EU Observers Await Consent To Leave Visegrad

AU0109090995 Paris AFP in English
0815 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Yugoslavia, Sept 1 (AFP)—Five European Union observers who have gone missing in Bosnia are alive and awaiting authorization to leave Serb-held territory in Visegrad, eastern Bosnia, an EU spokeswoman said Friday.

The observers were detained by Bosnian Serb separatists at the border between the self-styled Serb Republic and the rump Yugoslavia, in line with a rebel order banning foreigners from leaving territory under their control, said Biljana Lazarevic.

The mayor of the Bosnian town of Trebinje, Bozidar Vucurevic, was personally involved in the talks with Serb rebel authorities in Pale to obtain a special permit for the five to leave, said the spokeswoman of the EU observer mission in the Montenegrin capital.

The observers—three Spaniards, one Irishman and a Dutchman—repeatedly met Vucurevic over the past weeks to arrange for negotiations between rebel Serbs in Trebinje and Croatian authorities in Dubrovnik on the Adriatic coast, she added.

Lazarevic said after talking to the observers by phone that they were in good health and were being well treated.

Bosnian Serb "information minister" Miroslav Toholj earlier identified the five men as Fernando Sanchez Rau, Jose Luis Garcia Esponera, Zenon Luis Quintana, James Fitzgibbon and Pieter Schoonenwolf.

Depart From RS Territory

LD3108181095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1737 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 31 Aug (SRNA)—Miroslav Toholj, information minister of the Serb Republic, has said that the five EU monitors today safely left the republic's territory with their driver and interpreter.

"Security reasons dictated that the gentlemen from the EU observer mission be protected from the wrath of the people and dangers emanating from the attacks launched by NATO's air and ground forces on military and civilian targets in the Serb Republic. They are no longer in danger, so they are returning to their jobs and families," Minister Toholj explained.

With this, the Serb Republic government officially denied rumors that the members of the EU's observer mission for former Yugoslavia had been killed.

The EU observer mission delegation that today left the Serb Republic consists of Fernando Sanchez Rao, Jose Luis Esponeda, Cenon Luis Quintana, James Fitzgibbon, and Peter Schoenenwolf, as well as interpreter Olga Meden and driver Aleksandr Rastovic.

UN Spokesman Praises Government Restraint

AU3108152195 Paris AFP in English
1436 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 31 (AFP)—The United Nations praised the restraint of the Bosnian Government Thursday during the NATO bombing operation against Bosnian Serbs, who were warned the attacks would continue until they stop threatening Sarajevo.

Meanwhile the UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, said the decision to end the operation, launched early Wednesday and continuing Thursday, "depends on the attitude and policies of the Bosnian Serb party."

UN spokesman Christopher Gunness, responding to questions about the risk of the Bosnian government

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profiting from the the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) attacks, said the Bosnians had acted laudably during the operation.

"It's gratifying to see the attitude which the Bosnian Government has taken and we hope they will continue to maintain a policy of restraint while this air action continues," he said.

"The key to the stopping of this action lies with the Bosnian Serbs; they have got to demonstrate that there is no threat against the safe areas," including Sarajevo, Gunness said.

Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic stressed NATO should prolong its attacks until the Serb threat had been totally neutralised.

"The Bosnian Government wants NATO to honour its commitments, that means stopping all forms of attack against (UN-declared) safe areas, particularly Sarajevo, in order to give peace and the talks a chance," Sacirbegovic said after talks with U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke here.

Sacirbegovic also called for close cooperation between his country and Croatia.

"The future of these two countries rest in the rapid establishment of a fruitful cooperation," the minister said.

Holbrooke met with the Bosnian foreign minister, as well as with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman Thursday, though it remained unclear if he met the two simultaneously.

NATO warplanes swooped in a series of raids Wednesday and early Thursday on Serb positions with the aim of eradicating the Serb threat on Sarajevo following Monday's mortar shelling of the Bosnian capital which killed 37.

In Paris, Defense Minister Charles Millon vowed Thursday that the airstrikes, backed by artillery of the Franco-British-led rapid reaction force, would continue until all Serb artillery dumps, radars and missile bases were destroyed.

"The international community, through the United Nations and NATO, wants to eliminate, and I mean eliminate, any threats to peace and security," Millon said in a radio interview.

Akashi said that heavy fog over the Sarajevo Thursday had prevented alliance planes from conducting any raids.

"Today because of the fog we have some difficulties in pursuing air action but the action itself will be pursued," he said.

He added that "on the basis of some indications of the willingness of the Bosnian Serb party to discuss peace, we made certain proposals through the intermediary of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and I am waiting for the official response of that party."

Akashi did not specify the nature of the proposals but said one condition to stopping the raids was the full withdrawal of all heavy weapons from a 20-kilometer (12-mile) exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

He added that he had no information on the fate of five European Union observers the Serbs claim were killed during the raids

European Commissioner Hans van den Broek earlier said that the five observers had been reported missing before the NATO raids began.

Izetbegovic on NATO Raid, Fate of Sarajevo

BR0109134795 Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Sep 95 pp 1, 11

[Report on interview with President Izetbegovic by Bernard-Henry Levy in Paris on 30 August: "What the Bosnian President Told Me"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I left him in Sarajevo almost two weeks ago, in his half-ruined palace. I meet with him again in Paris on Wednesday morning [30 August], a few hours after the start of the NATO air strikes, in the overgilded decor of the large Parisian hotel where he is staying as a state guest.

I immediately see that he must not have slept much: the slightly bent figure; the wrinkles chiseled around the mouth; the charismatic voice, tinged with the sadness that usually surfaces when he is tired. But there is also in his gaze, in this blue eye that seems lighter than usual, an air of extreme elation which I see there for the very first time.

When did he learn about this? And how? "Just like everybody else," he says with a mischievous smile. "At four in the morning. A phone call from Sarajevo woke me up. And I was simply told: 'It looks like they mean business, this time. There are aircraft in the sky, you can see Trebevic as in daylight.'"

So things did happen this way? He had no inkling yesterday that air strikes were about to be carried out? "True, there was Holbrooke who made a point of letting me know that he was no longer certain he would be going to Belgrade. And Warren Christopher's deputy spoke with me late in the night, saying: 'Something is going to happen which you should be happy about.' But to say that I was in on the whole thing, no, certainly not."

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So how does he feel about it, then? What was his very first thought this morning on realizing the extent of the action? "Joy, of course. Extreme joy. The notion that I may be tomorrow, back in Sarajevo, a free man in a free city..."

He remains silent for a moment. Hesitates. In a corner of the room, a television set tuned to CNN broadcasts pictures of explosions around the besieged city. "But also—why not admit it?—a kind of incredulity... Yes, it seems to me, at first, like all Sarajevo citizens, I found it hard to really believe it: We had been waiting such a long time for this intervention! And in the meantime, so many crimes, so many lives lost!"

Throughout the interview, the president's gaze is constantly, inexorably drawn to those mute pictures, always the same, of an intervention in which I clearly see he still cannot fully believe. "Then there was your president," he goes on somewhat dreamily. "I think on Monday [28 August] his decision was already made. He called Major right after the massacre. Major was reluctant. And when, during the night on Tuesday, he got a call telling him that the Americans were preparing air strikes, he became angry and this only strengthened his determination."

So what does he think of Chirac? How does he see him as a person? He met him once in 1993, when I had taken him to meet the man who was then only the Paris mayor: Was it the same man he saw this time? The same friend of Bosnia? "It is strange," he tells us, "power usually makes people rigid. It makes them solemn, somber. For him, the reverse is true: I felt that power had liberated him, that it had freed him of some burden and that it gave him 10 times as much energy. I could not help comparing him with Mitterrand, who was always so stiff..."

We talk about Mitterrand. About their many meetings, so fruitless, so disappointing. I tell him how much I wanted to believe the former president would somehow come to his senses, and of the time I realized that, within his own conscience, he had chosen to side with the Serbs.

"To me also, this man will remain an enigma. So cold, yes. So calculating. There was, in this coldness, something that did not fit the fact that he belonged to the Left. Is there not a more emotional side to left-wing people? I thought yesterday on leaving the presidential palace that it looks as if fate had made a mistake: Everything considered, Chirac is the one who inherited this left-wing temperament."

The phone rings. A call from the Armja headquarters in Sarajevo. I do not understand what is being said. But I recognize Izetbegovic's other voice: The one, both melancholy and harsh, of the military chief which he also is and who often told me that he was waging a war without taking any pleasure in it.

"There," he tells us, as if this short conversation had been all he needed to be reassured. "The Rapid Reaction Force has fired 400 shells. France is doing its part. Chirac is true to his word."

Then, as Gilles Hertzog (who was with me in Central Bosnia and who witnessed, as did I, the might of the new Bosnian Army) asks him what is going to happen now and whether Sarajevo's defenders should not now take advantage of the breakthrough to launch an assault in the hills: "It is difficult... very difficult... Again, all this has happened so fast... We had been considering an offensive for a later date, around mid-September. So are our troops ready now? Do we have enough men in the city? I do not know." Then, once again, pointing at the TV screen, currently displaying a map of Serbian Bosnia: "You need to understand this. Their besieging forces are hit, certainly. Many strategic locations have been hit. However, this is still there..." He sketches a number of small, rectangular boxes, very narrow ones, which seem to hang on the edges of the sheet of paper. "These are concrete bunkers, all around Sarajevo. They are buried deep underground, and above all, invisible from the air. In June, when we launched our offensive, this 'Maginot' line turned out to be our main obstacle. In Vogosca, for instance, we fired 40 times on such a bunker; we failed to conquer it, and we lost many men."

Still, Hertzog points out that the political implications were Sarajevo to be liberated by its own population would be considerable. I add that a military defeat for Mladic and Karadzic might be the least damaging way of preserving what is left of former multicultural Bosnia. Izetbegovic agrees. He likens this multicultural Bosnia to a beautiful but disfigured maiden whose face is the brightest of memories. He says that—no matter what those who suspect him of wanting a Muslim Bosnia have been saying—the image or, to put it another and better way, the resurrection of this face remains his true goal in this war.

"Fundamentally, you are not wrong," he says after a new and very long pause. "And—correct me if I am mistaken—I seem to recall that it is the very way in which Paris was liberated. To be sure, the Americans where the ones who saved you. But is it not true that General de Gaulle insisted that a French division—the Leclerc division—should be the first to enter the capital city?"

He falls silent once more, apparently lost in thought. Then, aloud, still in English, but in a lower tone of

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voice, as if talking to himself, he continues. "I do not see how I could explain this to Clinton. He wants peace. Any peace. He needs it for internal political reasons. But might not Chirac, as a Gaullist, understand that I need a victory and that this victory will be the liberation, by my armed forces, of Bosnia's capital city?"

Then we call the presidential palace and ask, on his behalf, for a second meeting with the French president. The time is 1000 [0800 GMT]. The council of ministers has just begun. The president is handed a message, to which he answers that he will see his counterpart at 1200 [1000 GMT].

What will Izetbegovic say during this second encounter? That Sarajevo is just as good as Paris. And that to compel the Bosnians to negotiate the fate of their capital (in exchange for, say, Gorazde) would be just as unthinkable, as the idea of negotiating the liberation of Paris (in exchange for, say, Alsace and Lorraine) would have been in 1944.

What will be Chirac's answer? Will he hear this lone, awfully proud man, obsessed by his Bosnia the way de Gaulle was with his own "mythical princess," and coming both to thank him and to let him know that he will have his own "Leclerc division?" Time will tell. But Izetbegovic, on his way to the airport, after stopping over at the Vincennes Cartoucherie, reiterates this with even more force: "I will only bring peace back to Bosnia if the 'Pax Americana' is swiftly replaced by a 'Pax Bosniaca.'" Then, at the very last minute, when saying goodbye: "I am counting on France for this; only France can make this pact with us."

Serbs 'Almost Capitulate'

AU3108221995 Paris AFP in English 2200 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 31 (AFP)—The NATO and UN airstrikes and artillery fire against Bosnian Serbs have caused a "political and military turning point" in the Bosnian conflict, forcing the Serbs to "almost capitulate," Bosnian President Alija Izetbogovic said late Thursday [31 August].

"It is a decisive blow to the plan for a 'Greater Serbia,'" Izetbegovic told Bosnian television after returning from meetings in Paris.

They have accepted international peace plans in what is "almost capitulation."

"They (the Serbs) have changed their position on the peace plan. They accept the 'Contact Group' plan, the 51-49 division," the Bosnian president said, refering to an international plan to divide Bosnia 51 percent for the Moslems and Croats and 49 percent for the Serbs.

They also accept "the American initiative which is based on the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the essential points, it is the ruination of 'Greater Serbia,'" Izetbegovic said.

"It is, almost, capitulation," he added.

Silajdzic Sees Talks Based on Contact Group Plan

AU3108214195 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2010 GMT 31 Aug 95

[Interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Bonn by Robert Hochner in Vienna—live; Silajdzic statements in English with superimposed German translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Hochner] Good evening, Mr. Prime Minister.

[Silajdzic] Good evening.

[Hochner] Mr. Prime Minister, how long should the NATO attacks continue, in your view?

[Silajdzic] I am sorry, I do not hear the translation.

[Hochner] Okay, I will ask the question in English. How long should the NATO attacks continue if it were for the Bosnian Government to decide?

[Silajdzic] Until the Serbs abandon the use of force and start negotiating seriously.

[Hochner] These negotiations are based on a plan providing for a division of the territory, granting the Muslims and Croats 51 percent and the Serbs 49 percent. Is this still an acceptable basis for you?

[Silajdzic] Not only for me. There is the plan of the Contact Group upon which we agreed in Geneva over one year ago. This plan was submitted by five countries: the United States of America, Germany, France, Great Britain, and Russia. We accepted this plan. As far as we are concerned, this plan continues to be valid. But we are ready to make minor concessions and to discuss the constitutional regulations.

[Hochner] Would you consider the transfer of people, including the abandonment of the enclave of Gorazde in exchange for territories around Sarajevo, as part of a possible compromise?

[Silajdzic] No. So far we have not heard of such a proposition. But our answer would be no. As I said, there is the plan of the Contact Group, and this plan can only be changed slightly.

[Hochner] After the victory of the Croats in Krajina, the Bosnian Muslims have again gained the upper hand militarily, and the Serbs have been weakened. Might this

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strengthen those in the government who want a military solution and want to conquer additional regions?

[Silajdzic] Well, we have been put to a severe test in this connection. We did that one year ago [as heard], but the Serbian representatives refused to accept that. Thus, there is a plan—not our plan but an international plan. We are willing to implement it any time. Our victories in western Bosnia, in the Bihac area, and the victories of the Croatian forces in Krajina are naturally helpful. The regime in Belgrade must understand that the use of force is not its monopoly, that the balance of power has shifted, and that it is about time to talk seriously about peace.

Our concerns are: First, Bosnia-Herzegovina must remain a state within internationally recognized borders. This is a demand that is not negotiable. Bosnia's sovereignty and territorial integrity must be preserved. Constitutional regulations for Bosnia can, however, be negotiated. And as I said, we are also ready to accept minor changes of the peace plan of the Contact Group. I think that the air strikes have contributed to bringing about peace earlier because, as a result, the balance of power has shifted, and the credibility of the international community, which had been given up for a long time, has been restored. Now the international community has regained this credibility, and we can only hope that what we achieve during the peace process will actually be implemented. The international community of states must guarantee that.

[Hochner] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for the interview. I wish you all the best.

[Silajdzic] Thank you.

Sacirbegovic: Pause Might Cause Serb Attack

AU0109153595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Our country's Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic informed reporters that [passage indistinct]. Commander of the UN troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Rupert Smith, informed our officials that a decision was made to take a break in the combined UN and NATO attacks on the Serbian positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Minister Sacirbegovic emphasized that this pause did not mean that the action was over. The action will only be over when Karadzic's Serbs withdraw heavy arms from the Sarajevo exclusion zone and when the town's blockade is lifted. He stressed that [word indistinct] does not stand behind this decision.

We assumed a position that any break in this action is counterproductive for the peace process and creates an impression with the Serbian aggressor that he is no longer facing the same threat. Those who are behind this decision bear an enormous responsibility for the consequences that [words indistinct] Minister Sacirbegovic said.

He added that the latest actions of the Western allies have proven that the Serbian aggressor, faced with a real force, also demonstrates willingness to compromise. We are ready to accept compromises [word indistinct] and we hail any indication of good will for the contacts with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and the Contact Group members displayed by Belgrade and even Pale, Sacirbegovic stressed.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina foreign minister said that the actions of the Western allies could lead to the opening of the town and protection of the civilians in Sarajevo. He, however, voiced a concern that a decision about the pause in this action could annul all this.

Karadzic's Serbs did not agree to withdraw heavy arms. Even if they were to decide to withdraw heavy arms, we believe they should undertake a public obligation to destroy these arms or remove them completely, Sacirbegovic said. I believe the Serbs will try to take advantage of this pause to [word indistinct] their conditions for the withdrawal of heavy arms; however, our government will not accept any conditions, Sacirbegovic emphasized. He added that assessments about the destruction of the Serbian artillery around Sarajevo were incorrect and (?do not justify) this pause because much of the aggressor's heavy arms still remain around the town. If a terrorist attack on Sarajevo repeats itself as a result of this decision, this would be a shame for the entire international community, Muhamed Sacirbegovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said.

HDZ's Kordic on Federal, Confederal Relations

AU3108141995 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 95 p 5

[Interview with Dario Kordic, chairman of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Marijan Sivric; place and date not given: "There Would Be No Bosnia-Herzegovina Without Herzeg-Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the moment, Dario Kordic, chairman of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is the most competent person to tell us about the most recent Croat-Bosniak Muslim federal relations and their confederal relations to the Republic of Croatia. We have obtained an exclusive interview for SLOBODNA DALMACIJA with the HDZ leader of Bosnia-Herzegovina on this issue.

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[Sivric] Mr. Kordic, Edhem Bicakcic, acting member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has announced the extinction of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia by the end of the year. Please can you tell us your opinion on that statement and the commentaries published in OSLOBODJENJE related to that?

[Kordic] First of all, I have to say that the HZ [Croatian Community] of Herzeg-Bosnia, and later on the HR [Croatian Republic] of Herzeg-Bosnia, represented a form of self-organization in Croatian people and their right to defend their rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Bosnia-Herzegovina's right to defend itself from Greater Serbian aggression. And, therefore, we must emphasize that without the HR of Herzeg-Bosnia there would be no Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that Herzeg-Bosnia gave birth to the Washington Treaty and the federation of the Croats and the Muslims, and the confederation with the Republic of Croatia. And why did Herzeg-Bosnia give birth to it? Because the Washington Treaty has come as the result of the strategic interests of Croatian and Bosniak-Muslim people, of the interests of the international community and the countries—friends of both nations. One must also openly say that it was the result of the strength of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The spirit of the HR of Herzeg-Bosnia will live through Croatian nation-building and Croatian sovereignty realized through the Washington treaty and the building of the Federation of Croatian-Bosniak Muslim nations and the confederation with the Republic of Croatia. We want to enter that process and the final construction with the strong institutions of Croatian people, which will transform into the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, through which all the rights of Croatian people will be guaranteed. We do not enter into this with a weak Herzeg-Bosnia. The stronger Herzeg-Bosnia is, surely the stronger is the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The HR of Herzeg-Bosnia is a form of protection of Croatian interests and rights, and the time of its demise does not have to be determined. We would do better to show a genuine will and wish to show our sincerity and transfer the authorities from the HR of Herzeg-Bosnia, as well as from the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its internal organization, as I always point out, without questioning its internationally recognized borders, onto the federal authorities. Let me remind you, according to the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there is still the right to organize and coordinate the grand counties [cantons] and municipalities with a Croatian majority to protect Croatian interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which, in confederation with Croatia, are the best guarantees for the protection of the sovereign rights of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Sincere Relations

[Sivric] What are the reflections of the conflict between SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and Izetbegovic on one side, and Haris Silajdzic on the other, with respect to Croat-Bosniak Muslim relations?

[Kordic] In the building of sincere relations between the Federation of Croats and Bosniak-Muslims and the confederation with the Republic of Croatia, we are not pleased by any quarrel, and we think it is our partner's family matter and he should discuss certain dilemmas, vagueness, and possible disagreements at his home.

[Sivric] It has been stated in the press recently that the relations between HDZ and SDA have never been better. What is your comment on that statement at this moment?

[Kordic] One should consider the whole of recent Croat-Bosniak Muslim relations in the spirit of the Split Declaration and the atmosphere of a positive climate that it created in military matters. In that positive climate, the relations between HDZ and SDA can certainly be given a good mark. However, one should not exaggerate with the mark. Those marks and the process itself will improve in time, but it is essential that on the ground, in many communities, positive processes take place. We can emphasize here the regions of Tuzla, Zivinice, Banovici, Lukavac, where the wave of Bosniak refugees who survived the exodus from Zepa and Srebrenica was very fair and correct toward the Croatian people; they did not enter Croatian houses. There is also a visible advance in the municipalities of Brcko-Ravne, Usora, but unfortunately there were also some negative occurrences that happened after the Split Declaration. At the very top, we should emphasize Bugojno, where the local power wielders have been continually showing that they are the enemies not only of the Washington Treaty but that they also do not strive for the well being of their own people. There were 10 families from there who left their centuries-old homes after the Split Declaration. There is a similar example in Vares, and there have been incidents in Zenica, where crosses and Croatian gravestones have again been destroyed in Crkvice. And the fact is that mujahidin units have not yet left the Croatian village of Podbrijezje in the municipality of Kakanj and Croatian villages in the municipality of Travnik, which spoils even better appreciation of our relations. There are firm promises given by Bosniak-Muslim people that these issues I stated as critical will be solved in the coming period. We believe that they will do it on behalf of mutual interests of both nations.

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Military Successes

[Sivric] Can you tell us something more about the military situation in the battlefields of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the moment?

[Kordic] After the Split Declaration, the coordinated Croatian forces have achieved significant military successes in the area of Bosnia-Herzegovina, too. Bosansko Grahovo, Glamoc, the major part of the municipality of Drvar has been put under Croatian control. These facts show that the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina controls 17 percent of the whole territory at the moment. That is a significant figure, and reflects the strength of the Croatian people and their power, as well as the strength of the Croatian soldier and HVO units. These successes and the brilliant victories of the Croatian Army create a fertile soil for success in the new peace initiatives. There is coordinated activity of HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in other battlefields, and we help and wish the units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina to achieve good results, because we thus create preconditions for the extension of the living space for Croatian and Bosniak Muslim people, and the preconditions for the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees. The situation in the battlefields under HVO control is perfectly clear and stable. HVO units at the moment have the strategic initiative. Beside all this, we still want to solve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and reach a just peace, by using political means. We cannot be so optimistic as to think it will be soon. However, the message of Croatian people is that those areas in which the Croats had been living for centuries, can no longer be held under our enemy's control and occupation. Croatian people used to live, should live, and they will live in Jajce, Polugarje, Bosnian Croat Posavina, Komusina. And our partner's right, the right of the Bosniak Muslim people, is to try in the future, through the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and with our help, and to believe they will succeed, to liberate the areas in which the Bosniaks used to live, and thus to create, on the whole, larger living areas for Bosniak Muslim and Croatian people. All this, should the peace initiatives fail.

Peace Plan

[Sivric] What does the Croatian side gain, and what does it lose, by the peace plan, and is this peace plan acceptable for the Croatian side?

[Kordic] First of all, it is a fact that Croatian people have always welcomed peace initiatives and the searching for a political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in that way, without victims, tried to find the solution to the consequences of the Greater Serbian aggression. As the world and the international community through the superpowers have not shown any effectiveness in imposing more efficiently all the plans drawn up so far on the Serb side, which had attacked Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, the Croatian side had to strengthen its military organization and the strength of the Croatian men on the ground and, using that, liberate the occupied territories. In the light of the new successes in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the new peace initiative has arisen, which, according to the leadership of Croatian people, in fact, is the actual realization of the Contact Group plan, rejected only by the Bosnian Serbs. The basic postulates of the plan are mutual recognition of all the states that appeared as a consequence of the collapse of former Yugoslavia: Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Republic of Croatia within the internationally recognized borders, but also the internal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina—to be divided into two entities. One, the Croat-Bosniak Federation, to which, according to this plan, 51 percent of the territory would belong, and the other, the Serb entity, to which 49 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina would belong. It is normal that in this phase of the peace and political initiative one cannot give any final assessments about overall positive effects. One can say that there are many positive elements in it, as the first and the starting version, but before giving any final appraisal, the initiative has to be complete. We will agree upon all our stands in the construction of the Federation with the Bosniak Muslim side. We energetically renounce all insinuations and all rumors and plain misinformation that have their origin in certain ill-meaning circles from the international framework, as well as from those that originate from the region of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Everything that appears in public is a test from the ill-meaning circles, obviously to sound out the political public. We are perfectly calm and clear in our conviction that we are on the right road, and that the strength of the Croatian people is in the unity, and that the power of the Croatian soldiers is at such a level that everything we were talking about we can wait for peacefully. We strongly believe and are convinced that the solution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina will ensure the best protection to the interests of the whole Croatian nation and Croatian interests.

Zubak: Financial Reward for Accepting U.S. Plan

LD3108170295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Federation President Kresimir Zubak held a news conference in Mostar today to talk about the situation in Bosnia and his recent visit to Paris. Ivan Kristic reports from Mostar:

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[Begin Kristic recording] In the course of the meetings in Paris and talks with French President Jacques Chirac, French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette, U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke and contact group representatives, most of the attention was devoted to the U.S. peace initiative, President Zubak said today. The U.S. peace effort is to a large extent general, it proceeds from the contact group's plan and the formula under which 51 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina will go to the Bosniak-Croat Federation and 49 percent to the Bosnian Serbs. It also envisages the recognition of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina by the so-called FRY within their internationally recognized borders as a condition for suspending sanctions.

If this is accepted, talks will be organized to discuss in concrete terms the maps, delineation lines and the internal system in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which, according to what has been revealed so far, should be a union consisting of the Croat-Bosniak Federation and the Serb entity which can enjoy cultural and other links with the so-called Yugoslavia but not a confederal relationship as enjoyed by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation with Croatia.

Accepting the plan would bring in America's and the EU's financial help, but rejecting it would most likely prompt America to withdraw from the peace process and letting the EU resolve the crisis.

The latest NATO actions are a convincing evidence of America's determination to reach peace, Zubak said. Until the peace proposal is defined, finalized, and accepted, the Croat Defense Council has the right to liberate the territories still under occupation but which historically belong to Croatia, Zubak said. [end recording]

SDA on NATO Air Raids, Peace Prospects

AU3108155395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 95

[Report by Mladen Bosnjak]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] held a regular news conference in Sarajevo today. The main topic of the news conference was the current military and political situation in our country following NATO's combat action and in light of the latest peace initiatives. Mladen Bosnjak has the details of what the journalists from almost all Sarajevo newspapers were told:

[Bosnjak] The journalists were first addressed by Enver Kreso, member of the SDA Executive Council. He stressed that all Bosnia-Herzegovina officials still insist on an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina, regardless of what peace plan or peace initiative is in question. The integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina does not have to be achieved immediately. The reintegration of the state within the internationally recognized borders is the aim that will not be abandoned. In other words, the Chetnik occupation of the territories will never be recognized. Mr. Kreso mentioned the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as the first and the already finalized stage of reintegration of the territories. Mr. Kreso also stressed:

[Kreso] Relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be developed without war criminals. They should absolutely be excluded from the peace process and negotiations. It is logical to expect that some advocates of the ideology of disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Chetnik ideology will remain in some areas. However, such persons should not be allowed in the organs of authority.

[Bosnjak] Answering a question on the composition of the Belgrade-Pale team, Mr. Enver Kreso said that the criminal troika from Pale does not meet our criteria and that the main negotiator must be Slobodan Milosevic, since the negotiations will also have to deal with the issues concerning succession, war reparation, and so forth.

Hasan Muratovic, head of the State Committee for Relations with the United Nations, said that NATO's current operation is not over. NATO aircraft are today only overflying and patrolling the area due to poor weather conditions.

Mr. Muratovic stressed that following the unequivocal statement that the Chetniks had fired a shell that resulted in the latest massacre, it is we who deserve credit for starting the military action. Mr. Muratovic illustrated his stand with the following facts:

[Muratovic] There was a real diplomatic battle in Paris. On the afternoon of 29 August, our president made a decision not to hold talks with anyone in Paris, although almost all the relevant diplomats involved in Bosnia-Herzegovina were there, until NATO takes action. It was very difficult to convince all these people who were in Paris about what NATO should do, and what NATO's aim should be. As you know, NATO has been in actions in the past, but these were very marginal actions of a very limited scope.

Our demand, the demand of President Izetbegovic in Paris was that NATO carry out actions until it destroys all artillery around Sarajevo within a radius of 20 kilometers, in other words in the (?exclusion zone). I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the objective as defined by NATO was to eliminate artillery

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that is threatening the lives of Sarajevo citizens. This aim has not been accomplished yet. The effects achieved are enormous, but we will insist that NATO carry out this aim until the end.

The other important thing that I want to tell you in connection with the president's visit, and I believe he will tell you that in a statement himself, is that President Chirac has given us guarantees that the road via Mt. Igman and the Sarajevo airport will be protected and opened, without anyone's consent or negotiations with anyone. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Letter to Akashi Links Air Raids, Talks

LD3108211995 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a copy of a letter that Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, has sent to Yasushi Akashi, special envoy of UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. The following are the contents of the letter we received from the press bureau:

Your Excellency: Thank you for your letter of 30 August. I note what you say, but I wish to make it perfectly plain to you that we cannot accept that NATO has become involved in this civil war on the side of our enemies. It is now clear that NATO air attacks have nothing whatsoever to do with the shelling of Sarajevo on Monday, which in any case was not the responsibility of the Serbs. In fact, no one is trying to hide the fact that the aim of the current aerial onslaught against us is to weaken our military strength to make the Serb position as unfavorable as possible before the continuation of negotiations.

I wish, therefore, to give you the reasons why these attacks were not necessary.

First, on 15 August, in Geneva, and again on 26 August in the south of England, our delegation met and discussed with Mr. Carl Bildt and his team the resumption of peace talks and, in fact, went deep into the details of a possible peace settlement. Throughout this process of consultations with Carl Bildt, our side was firm in its commitment to a peaceful solution.

Second, between 27 and 2. August, I frequently communicated with former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, searching with him for avenues likely to lead to a swift peace. On 28 August, I sent Mr. Carter a letter in which I asked him for his help in promoting the earliest resumption of the peace talks. Two days later, Mr. Carter revealed the content of my letter in an interview on CNN.

Third, on 28 August, our assembly welcomed the U.S. peace initiative and expressed its readiness to conclude peace.

Fourth, and most important, on 29 August we signed with representatives of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia an agreement on setting up a joint delegation to peace negotiations.

From all this you can conclude that, just as there were no reasons for the initiation of brutal air attacks, which have so far caused untold damage, there is likewise no reason for their continuation. This is particularly true because we do not and will not use artillery against safe areas. Of course, the United Nations should ensure that we are not being attacked from within those areas. If NATO air attacks nevertheless continue, it will become abundantly clear that NATO countries wish to derail the peace process, which will merely have the effect of hastening our preparations for a long-term conflict which the international community has no hope of winning, President Karadzic said in his letter to Yasushi Akashi, the special envoy of the UN secretary general.

Comments on Air Strikes

AU0109094895 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 31 Aug 95

[Interview with Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic by Miroslav Gligorevic in the Pale studio from the "Vidik" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gligorevic] Good evening, Mr. President.

[Karadzic] Good evening.

[Gligorevic] The ruthless and senseless NATO aggression against the Serb Republic has been going on for two days now. There was really no cause for it. Even if there had been some traces, some causes, they were exhausted long ago. Tonight we see more air strikes. Would you comment on that?

[Karadzic] Yes, they struck one of our buildings some 10, 15 minutes ago. I replied to Akashi's letter and presented arguments showing that the air strikes were not only unnecessary, but even counterproductive. It is clear that those attacks were absolutely unprovoked. A Russian expert said that the odds that we fired the mortar which killed the Sarajevo citizens are one in a million. Everybody knows that. And nobody even uses the incident to justify the bombing, but say that they want to soften us, persuade us to come to the negotiating table, as if we have not always been prepared to negotiate.

[Gligorevic] Why has it come to these attacks just when a new, very viable peace plan was offered?

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[Karadzic] ...and which, after all, was welcomed by our Assembly before the bombing began. The Assembly expressed a willingness to conclude peace. You see, I think that the first and foremost goal is that the United States wants to clear the ground for its initiative. And instead of talking to us, asking us whether we were ready for further negotiations on the basis of that initiative, it has provided the Sarajevo incident—of course, the Muslims have staged it—and now we have air strikes. Furthermore, they are very important to many governments, like that of Chirac and others, who want to show that they are against the Serbs before the Muslim world. I said yesterday that this is the moral disaster of the West, that Western governments, NATO members which supported this, will be ashamed, that the truth will soon be known. There will be a flood of articles. Right after the war, we will see honest writings in which many will lose face for what they are doing to us now. However, they missed their main goal, they didn't manage to intimidate the Serb nation, the Serb leadership, and the Serb front-line soldier. Nothing will happen. They cannot move one single Serb away from Pale or Hadzici. Nedjeljko Krstovic, president of the Ilidza municipality, said: "You cannot force us to move by any means!" And this is what counts. They cannot change the situation on the ground, no matter how long they bomb us.

[Gligorevic] However, they use various means and coordinate with the Muslim propaganda. For instance, tonight, Muslim television and radio revealed the information that you and the entire Serb Republic leadership have been in Belgrade for the past three days, that you are staying in a five-star hotel, and that you do not intend to return to the Serb Republic. But we are here tonight in Pale, in the Serb television studio.

[Karadzic] Yesterday, I made a statement out on the street as bombs were being dropped. You could see them behind me. We are in the studio tonight. So that is not true. General Mladic is attending a funeral. By the way, to disappoint our enemies: the relationship between myself and Mladic is excellent. Assembly Chairman Krajisnik is in the assembly. The entire leadership has different assignments, but all of them are definitely in Pale and in the Serb Republic. You can see that all this is synchronized when Muslim television takes part in the bombing by spreading its propaganda lies.

[Gligorevic] Apart from the fact that all misunderstanding within the Serb Republic has practically disappeared, the information we received today, i.e., last night, from Belgrade proves that the relations between the Serb Republic leadership and Yugoslavia have improved, too. You, i.e., the Serb Republic delegation, went to Belgrade. An agreement on forming a joint negotiating team of the Serb Republic and the FRY was signed. What happened in Belgrade and what is the agreement about?

[Karadzic] Our enemies have their own interpretations of the agreement. Some say that deputies made the leadership see reason. The Assembly adopted our proposal to make peace with Yugoslavia, to coordinate our appearance in negotiations. The Assembly welcomed that and authorized us to form a delegation in which we, too, would participate. It is a very fair and honest agreement in which there are three representatives of the FRY and Serbia and three Serb Republic representatives. Naturally, President Milosevic will head the delegation. President Milosevic will also appoint the three members from the FRY, while I will appoint the two other members besides myself. For the time being, Assembly Chairman Krajisnik and General Mladic are the two members. We put Mladic there on purpose, for they must know that without the signature of the main leaders, both civilian and military, there will not be peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their accusations involving myself and Mladic were in vain. We will see what happens later on. All of us will probably go there, and the three members that I appointed will vote. This is a very honest agreement signed before Patriarch Pavle, Bishop Ilijej, and the leadership of Yugoslavia and Serbia. In my opinion, it is an attempt to create an all-Serb appearance [nastup]. Of course, I would like and propose, as I did before, that President Martic also be involved in some way, because we do not think that the story of the Krajina has finished. Not only because of the existence of eastern Slavonia, but because we must never waive our right to the western part of Serb Krajina. We must always claim it and we will have it some day. When Croatia simply ran into the Serb's arms in 1918, when it joined Yugoslavia so that it would not be a defeated party, only the Croatian Rights Party said that they would not waive the right to fight for the Croatian state. We will say that as well. We can sign all kinds of agreements. They can even be forced on us in some parts. They can be unfavorable to the Republic of Serb Krajina, but we will not waive our right to claim the Republic of Serb Krajina. Some day, Croatia will have to realize that it is best to negotiate with the Serbs, than leave them with the obligation to fight for the liberation of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

[Gligorevic] A joint negotiating team was formed in Belgrade. Furthermore, in the past couple of days, Belgrade has been the scene of lively diplomatic activity. Does that mean that negotiations on the solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina are in the offing?

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[Karadzic] I believe many things will be resolved in the first two weeks of September. Apart from the agreement that was made public, we have made an internal agreement on our priorities, on what we cannot except. All those areas between Grmec and Kozara in which genocide was committed must belong to the Serbs. Furthermore, the valley of the Neretva River was also a sight of genocide. Posavina is now packed with Serb refugees, in Ozren, Doboj, and the Serb Sarajevo corridor. Those are all things that we established among ourselves, in the delegation, between us and Yugoslavia. I believe that there will be important meetings in the first 15 days of September. President Milosevic is already negotiating there. Vice President Koljevic attended a part of those talks today. One of us will always participate in the process. We agreed that we will take part in the entire process, not just in the finishing touches. I hope that it will be a successful cooperation, regardless of the fact that some party activists are trying to say that the Pale Serbs or the Serb Republic Serbs have seen reason. We adapt our aim to fit the circumstances. The circumstances have changed radically. And we will succeed in achieving good results; there is no doubt about it.

[Gligorevic] The events of the past couple of days seem to have overshadowed your visit to Belgrade and what was achieved there, in a way. We have not assessed the weight of what was done there. Do you think this ushers in a new stage of relations, better relations between the Serb Republic and the FRY and Serbia?

[Karadzic] I hope it does. We can say that the agreement is the first step toward forming a confederation with Serbia. Unfortunately, we had not taken that path with Krajina in time. We would have achieved more, if we had. But in my opinion, this is a first step. I believe—and that is inevitable—that, as soon as we sit at the negotiating table, i.e., accept the negotiating process, the Drina sanctions must disappear. I hope sanctions against Yugoslavia will be loosened at the beginning of the process and lifted altogether when peace is established. If the international community really wants peace, it is close at hand and I think it is good that an all-Serb team is formed. We will do our best to find the best solution. After all, we have parity: three votes, etc. I hope President Milosevic will be on our side regarding our vital interests because some day we will be one country.

[Gligorevic] It has not been said when sanctions imposed by and imposed on Serbia would be lifted.

[Karadzic] Sanctions imposed on Serbia will probably be lifted in the beginning of the process, and especially when peace is established. Regarding sanctions imposed on us by Serbia, by definition, they should be lifted the moment we sit at the negotiating table. However, they should already have been lifted, now that we have signed the agreement, for we are a part of the negotiating process.

[Gligorevic] The terms for lifting the embargo have practically been met by our Assembly's decision.

[Karadzic] Of course. The terms have been met. The only thing we must do now is inform our people, work closely with our deputies and Serb Democratic Party officials on the ground, and let them know exactly what is going on to avoid disinformation by enemy propaganda. We have not relinquished a single one of our vital interests and goals. The people know what the Assembly decided. They know the minimum, our Serb strategic interests, below which we will not go. Nothing will happen without the consent of our Assembly, for it must all be ratified by the Assembly first.

[Gligorevic] Let us get back to the first question: the unfortunate move of NATO, the senseless bombing of Serb targets and Serb residential areas just when peace was so close. Let me ask you once again: can NATO attacks jeopardize the peace process?

[Karadzic] Of course they can. Air strikes, if continued, can jeopardize the peace process—and I wrote Akashi that we neither shoot at nor intend to shoot at the protected zones; that should be reason enough to stop the bombing. I must tell you that the bombing is not at all light. It is extensive, fierce; they inflicted enormous damage. We have not yet assessed how many millions or hundreds of millions of damage was inflicted. But they did not realize the most important thing. Their goal was to penetrate our defense lines and to enable the Muslims and the Croats to change the situation on the ground. And this is where our Army did a great job, a brilliant job! It is holding every inch. Their second goal was to create chaos, to set people on the run, and many people would die if they did. Do you know why there are not many casualties? Because the people are stable and behave well. There are no casualties when jobs are done in a disciplined manner. You see, what they did in Krajina, they said: "Let's bomb Knin, and people will start fleeing." But the inhabitants of Sarajevo, of the entire Serb Sarajevo, Nevesinje, which was also bombed, and Serb Gorazde will not flee! And there are very few casualties, because there is discipline and people go to shelters. If panic should break out, God forbid, if people were in the streets, many would be killed. But because the people have discipline and are determined, the main goal to move the defense lines and send people on the run has not been realized, nor will ever be.

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[Gligorevic] We will conclude this interview on this optimistic note. Thank you for being our guest in the special edition of Serb Television political program "Vidik."

Krajisnik: Need for 'Joint Action' With FRY

AU3108163495 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] With the discussion of the U.S. initiative for ending the war conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Assembly of the Serb Republic [RS] ended its extraordinary session early this morning. The chairman of the Assembly, Momcilo Krajisnik, stated the decisions:

[Begin recording] It was decided that a RS delegation must take part in the negotiations, that it must coordinate the platform with the FRY, and that this joint action must benefit the entire Serb people as well as be aimed at achieving the RS strategic goals and resolving the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis.

Moreover, the task of the delegation will be to establish contact with the FRY as soon as possible and to demand that the political and economic cooperation be improved and that the economic blockade on the Drina River be lifted.

Other decisions regarding this item basically boil down to the following: The delegation must inform the Assembly of all the conclusions, and, after the negotiations and talks are held, the solution achieved must be ratified and verified by the RS Assembly.

I would like to repeat that mediator Bildt suggested that the RS and its delegation [as heard] should coordinate the positions and act jointly in the future negotiations because, as they say, no agreement or solution can be reached without the decision of the RS Assembly, the approval—or, better said, observance of the agreement—of our army, and the participation and decision of the FRY, since the FRY is deeply involved, considering that sanctions are in force, and this is the international community's view of this problem.

One of our decisions is to demand the lifting of the blockade on the Drina River, since, if we form a joint platform and a joint position, there will be no reason for Serbia to persist with the blockade, particularly if the international mediators, who were the ones to insist on the blockade in order to, as they said, persist on negotiations continuing, that is, on the creation of the conditions for such negotiations—though that was unfounded, since we have always supported negotiations, and such action was not necessary for negotiations to take place—have nothing against such joint appearance.

Croatian Army Reportedly Knew in Advance of Raids

AU3108161395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 95

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Text] NATO air strikes on the Serbian military and civilian targets on the territory of Serbian Sarajevo continued today. Shortly before 1000 [0800 GMT], the wider Pale area was bombed. Great material damage was caused again on this occasion; however, human casualties were avoided primarily thanks to the disciplined behavior of the civilians and the army of the Serb Republic [RS].

The Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] and the Muslim army especially, are using this situation to carry out indiscriminate artillery attacks on military and civilian targets.

As already reported, Herzegovina, that is Nevesinje municipality, was attacked last night in two flights by NATO aircraft. The Croatian Army [HV] which is positioned opposite the Serbian forces opened fire to mark its positions, which is a clear indication that they had been informed in advance about the bombers' arrival.

According to the news of the Serb Republic state radio, the antiaircraft defense has so far downed three bombers, while the duels of the NATO aircraft and the antiaircraft defense are still under way.

These events in the media overshadowed the events on other fronts, where the war has escalated. The Croatian and the Muslim army both tried to take advantage of the situation and penetrate as deeply as possible into the territory of the Serb Republic. The troops of Tudjman's army and the Bosnian Croats thus misjudged the situation yesterday and suffered a catastrophic defeat in a part of the Grahovo-Glamoc front. The Serb Republic Army units liberated a substantial part of the occupied Glamoc municipality and are advancing toward this town.

So, despite the high drama and escalation of the war here, people are nevertheless increasingly more optimistic, of course, because of the Belgrade accord and the leadership of the Serb Republic agreeing to the FRY's diplomatic option. It is believed that peace is more certain now and that Serbian divisions have become a thing of the past as reason has triumphed.

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Martic: 'Only Interested in Returning to the Front'

AU3108203095 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 95 p 9

["Exclusive" statement by Krajina Serb "President" Milan Martic to Vladana Stojanovic: "They Can Execute Me, but I Will Not Beg for Mercy Across the Drina River"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Milan Martic, the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, gave an exclusive statement, the first since the fall of Knin, to TELEGRAF's correspondent in Banja Luka:

"I do not want to give an interview at this moment, because I am afraid it might be misused against my people. Those in power, who planned all this, wish to shift the blame from themselves and put it on others. I do not want to talk about that now. The people are clever enough to realize and to know what happened. The time for that may come one day, everything will come to be known, because everything was recorded and there are documents in many places.

"From the very beginning, I was prepared to sacrifice myself for my people, and I still am. Let others put the blame on me, let them execute me, but I do not believe that they will have the pleasure of executing me. If that is the way it must be, then I will be killed by Ustashas and Muslims, our enemies, but I will not beg for mercy across the Drina River."

Martic denies the information published in TELEGRAF, namely, that he had moved unlawfully into the four-room apartment of the Vlahovic family in an elite part of Banja Luka:

"My family fled the catastrophe at the last moment, and some of my relatives were, unfortunately, killed.

"My family is now at our friends' place in Serbia. I believe they are not starving. I am not interested in any apartments; I am only interested in returning to the front, in gathering the soldiers and returning to Krajina. People know how I lived in Knin. I lived in an attic of some 50 square meters. I am not interested in houses or apartments. I was only interested in the destiny of my unfortunate people, and that is still the only thing that interests me, not my personal and material status. That is the least important thing. My place of residence is the forest and the liberated territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina."

We have found out from well-informed sources that the Serb Republic has decided to give Milan Martic an apartment. It is not known whether it is the apartment of the Vlahovic family.

Banja Luka Deputies Call For Martic's Expulsion

AU3108201195 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 95 p 6

[Article by V.N.: "To Ban Martic's Stay"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mile Dodik, chief of the club of independent deputies in the Serb Republic Assembly, stated that, at the assembly session in Pale, a group of deputies from the Banja Luka region officially demanded that Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], be banned from staying and performing all other activities on the territory of Banja Luka.

Because of the statements about guerrilla, excessive behavior, and the spreading of warmongering psychoses, these deputies assessed that Martic no longer had any place in Banja Luka. Defeatism and the deception of the public contributed to the loss of the western RSK, and now its eastern part is endangered, too. Martic's statements can provoke and are aimed at provoking new clashes, which can also endanger the western part of the Serb Republic and Banja Luka itself, Dodik explains.

A further reason for banning his stay are Martic's statements against the leadership of the FRY and Serbia, which create uneasiness among the people and aggravate dangerous divisions that can lead to inter-Serbian clashes, these deputies assessed.

Banja Luka Court Jails Muslims for Spying

LD0109123395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1058 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—The Banja Luka military court council, presided by Captain Srdjan Forca, today sentenced 15 members of a Muslim spy group named Valter to long-term prison sentences. The group was active in Banja Luka and the surrounding areas from February 1992 until August 1994.

Smail Djuzel was sentenced to 13 years in prison, Safet Filipovic to 15 years, Zijahudin Smailagic to 11 years, Osman Gojacic to 20 years, Asim Jakirlic to 14 years and six months, and Suhret Djuzel to 12 years.

These six were sentenced for collecting secret information and handing it to foreign nationals and organizations at the time of the imminent threat of war. Their detention was extended until their sentences are confirmed.

The remaining members of the group were sentenced more or less in absentia. Muharem Krzic was sentenced to 20 years in prison, Amir Novalija to 20 years, Ahmet

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Kozaragic to 13 years, Kjazim Durakovic to 13 years, Refija Durakovic to 13 years, Samir Gradascevic to 13 years, Alija Gunic to 13 years, Midhat Smajic to 11 years, and Fahrudin Prlja to 11 years.

Apart from being charged with spying, they were also charged with serving in foreign spy organizations. [passage omitted]

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Tudjman Issues Statement on Talks With Holbrooke

LD3108142595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A few moments ago we received the following statement from the office of the president of the republic:

The president of the Republic of Croatia has received in the presidential palace Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. under secretary of state for European issues. Holbrooke informed the president about the talks that he had held with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade. During the course of their talks today the president again expressed his support for the U.S. peace initiative and informed Holbrooke about the process of peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia and Baranja in the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Croatia.

Holbrooke was accompanied by Peter Galbraith, U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Croatia, General Wesley Clarke, Brigadier General Donald Garrick, and James Padew.

President Tudjman was accompanied by Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the president's office; Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs; Defense Minister Gojko Susak; the president's special envoy Miomir Zuzul, and Major General Kresimir Kaspar.

Granic, Bosnia's Sacirbegovic on Talks, Attack

LD3108124495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has received Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic in Zagreb. After the meeting Sacirbegovic told reporters that the talks confirmed that there are no significant differences in the two countries' positions. Our mutual relations and cooperation are expressed in the desire to demand of NATO that it meet its obligations, Sacirbegovic said.

Minister Sacirbegovic held talks with his Croatian counterpart Mate Granic in Zagreb this morning. After the talks the two ministers made brief statements for the press. Our reporter Andjelko Perincic was there.

[Perincic] Commenting on yesterday's NATO air strikes against Serb positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and today's talks, ministers Sacirbegovic and Granic said:

[Begin recording] [Sacirbegovic] We are certainly ready for further negotiations. We will be meeting Ambassador Holbrooke today to hear the results of his talks with President Milosevic and to find out if he believes the Serbs from Pale are ready for peace. What we have heard from Mladic so far points to the conclusion that they have not yet understood what NATO and the international community really wants from them and what they are supposed to do.

[Granic] The action by NATO and the Rapid Reaction Force was justified and legitimate. We believe that it will accelerate the peace process—that is, that it will force the Bosnian Serbs seriously to join the peace for the first time. We also hope that it will make Milosevic assume responsibility for the behavior of the Bosnian Serbs, something he has been refusing to do so far. This is very important.

As for Croatia, we want the issue of renitegration of the occupied areas of Croatia—in other words, eastern Slavonia and Baranja—to be resolved through a comprehensive negotiating process. We hope that this will be done by peaceful means and through negotiations.

Today we also talked about overall relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the one hand, and Croatia, on the other. We are firmly behind the Washington agreement and the Split declaration. [end recording]

[Perincic] Asked if the meeting today was designed to harmonize the two countries' stands for further negotiations, Ministers Granic and Sacirbegovic said:

[Begin recording] [Granic] We have been exchanging information. Minister Sacirbegovic told me about the negotiations that the delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the federation had in Paris.

[Sacirbegovic] I think that further coordination between our states is necessary, but we must stress at the same time that we insist that solutions in the region must take into account all three parties—in other words, the Republic of Croatia, the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia and Montenegro—and when it comes to the peace process and issue of mutual recognition, we shall continue to favor our cooperation. [end recording]

Air Force Commander Views Success of 'Storm'

AU3108170895 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 95 pp 10-11

[Interview with Lieutenant General Imra Agotic, commander of the Croatian Air Force and Air Defense, by Mate Piskor; place and date not given: "The Storm From the Skies"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] For a long time the sound of military aircraft used to cause panic in a large part of the free Croatian territory, since it meant that the

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aircraft of the enemy were coming in order to cause new destruction and deaths. This has not been the case for the last two or three years, however. Croatian pilots on the "MiG" aircraft protect the Croatian skies, and the sound of their aircraft and their successes spread panic among Chetniks. We talked with Lieutenant General Imra Agotic, the commander of the Croatian Air Force and Air Defense, about the plans for the development of the Croatian Air Force, about its tasks, and especially about the role the Croatian pilots played in the "Storm" liberation operation.

[Piskor] The exceptionally successful "Operation Storm" is behind us. It is mentioned in the reports from the battlefield and in the statements issued by the officers in charge of Croatian Army divisions that the Croatian pilots played an important role in the liberation of the occupied Croatian territories. How would you, several days after the "Storm" operation, assess the role your forces played and the results they achieved?

[Agotic] It is only natural that now, immediately after "Operation Storm," the contributions of single units to the accomplishment of this task are being analyzed. Therefore we have analyzed the role the Croatian Air Force played in the operation from a professional point of view. We have completed our analyses recently; we have received certain numerical indicators and made certain conclusions—to the extent this is possible in such a short period of time. Before I answer your question, it has to be mentioned that the course of "Operation Storm" and the experiences all army divisions gathered will certainly be the topic of very important and detailed analyses some other time.

[Piskor] Probably not only in Croatia?

[Agotic] Certainly not only in Croatia, because this has been a unique operation in such a large area so far, with extensive forces engaged on the Croatian side but also on the side of the enemy. It is difficult to make precise analyses and exactly state what lessons we learned, but we can already say that "Storm" was carried out even more quickly than it was planned and that the achieved results surpassed the predictions of the biggest optimists. The Air Force was preparing for "Storm" from the moment when the Croatian Air Force was founded in 1991. We defined our main aim, which was unique in the whole of the Croatian Army: To liberate the occupied Croatian territories, to protect our sovereignty and uniqueness, and to prevent the enemy from undertaking military actions against the territory of the Republic of Croatia. If we had not had such a vision at the moment when the Croatian Army, and the Croatian Air Force as one of its parts, was established, it would not have been possible to make a good preparation for the "Storm" action.

[Piskor] Do you want to say that "Storm" was being prepared for four years, not only for several months?

[Agotic] "Storm" was being prepared for four years and it has not been completed yet, because not all the Croatian territories have been liberated and because peaceful life has not been secured in the liberated areas. We can see what is going on in Dubrovnik, Osijek.... This means that "Storm" has not been completed yet.

The part that has been completed is fantastic, and it has been assessed that the Air Force has played a favorable role. The complete Croatian Air Force potential was engaged in combat activities, in transport, the rescuing of the wounded, supplies of the necessary materials, the enhancement of the Croatian Army mobility on the battlefield, and through the readiness to perform actions in a certain area—since the Air Force, just like the complete Croatian Army, does not perform its tasks only in combat activities, its task is also to be present and able to perform a combat activity if necessary. The performance of our task in that segment was excellent.

[Piskor] From the psychological point of view, you did not only affect the enemy, who felt insecure, but you also encouraged the Croatian soldier on the first front line.

[Agotic] That is true. The fact that the Croatian soldier on the front knew that he had protection from the air, that the largest part of Croatian skies was safe and that he could not be attacked from the air, gave him a feeling of security, the potential to move, to take the initiative. We think that we played an important role in that respect. Another question is how we performed combat activities. On the first day of "Operation Storm" one of the important goals was to make a decisive move by disrupting the enemy.

[Piskor] Does this mean that it was practically your staff, the Croatian pilots, who opened "Operation Storm"?

[Agotic] That can be claimed, although it is not important who was the one who started the action. We knew what our tasks and aims were. During the first stage of the operation they included attacks against the vital capacities of the enemy such as his command posts and the communications system. During the first strike, during the first several hours, we made a decisive attack against the enemy, we disabled him from making organized actions on the front. Therefore there was very strong resistance from the very beginning, but only in certain areas; in others there was panic and disorganization right away. The Air Force certainly played a very

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important role in this respect. One of the very important tasks expected from the Air Force was to perform actions in places where the enemy offered strong resistance to the Croatian land forces. The Air Force started concrete actions on the front whenever it received an order from the commander of a certain corps. This requires a relatively complex organization and coordination between the land forces and the air force, because the possibility to confuse the targets is extremely high. Ours and the land forces of the enemy were very close and it was difficult to differentiate them at high speed. Therefore we sent Air Force representatives to the areas of two of our corps with the intention to coordinate the actions between the Air Force and the land forces.

[Piskor] And there was not a single "confusion?"

[Agotic] No, there was not. We attacked the enemy exactly on the front line, which considerably contributed to the destruction of the strongholds from which the enemy offered resistance; this was especially the case in Petrinja, in the area south of Karlovac, and in some places in Lika.

[Piskor] Does this mean that Croatian aircraft were mostly ordered to perform actions in these areas?

[Agotic] Yes, the Air Force made its flights after it was called from the battlefield, these actions had not been planned in advance, and these were the most difficult tasks. It is important to say that the strikes against the defense lines of the enemy enabled our forces to respond quickly, which is the reason why the operation was completed within such a short period of time and why we did not have that many victims, which is even more important in my opinion.

[Piskor] You did not lose a single pilot this time, not a single aircraft. Does that mean that the air defense of the enemy was not active?

[Agotic] On the contrary, the enemy's air defense was very strong. If you go through the area of combat activities now, you can see what weapons they used. There were weak points on their side, however, they did not have fuel, electricity, they did not have enough soldiers, but the main reason for their inefficiency was that the command system was paralyzed.... [passage omitted]

[Piskor] The opinion prevails that the Croatian Army had substantial information about the positions and the power of the enemy. Is that true?

[Agotic] The truth every soldier knows proved to be true in "Operation Storm." A good knowledge of the enemy is the necessary condition if you want to accomplish a task well. In "Storm," the cooperation between the structures of the Croatian Army that survey the enemy, the instantaneous supply of the necessary information to the places where decisions were made about how to use certain forces, including the Air Force, considerably influenced the efficiency of the Air Force. Before the operation, we had relatively good information about the power and the distribution of enemy forces, but the collection of the data during the combat activities, through various means we do not want to mention, proved to be decisive for the success of the whole operation. This significantly influenced the events to unfold quickly and created panic on the other side, since we brought the enemy into the situation of panic, fear, and uncertainty. How else can you react if you think that you have performed a very good action that has not been seen by anybody, and an enemy aircraft appears above your head after several minutes—always in less than an hour—and starts its action? This continuously happened to the Serbs and considerably affected their further decisions and actions. [passage omitted]

[Piskor] Since the establishment of the Air Force Squadron, you lost four "MiG-21" and four pilots....

[Agotic] No, we lost four aircraft and three pilots, since, according to the information we have, Lieutenant Rudolf Peresin, the commander of the Air Force Squadron, is alive but imprisoned somewhere in "Yugoslavia" [word in quote marks as published]. I am deeply convinced that he is all right, that he is recovering—to the extent this is possible when someone is imprisoned—from the wounds he got when he jumped out of the aircraft that was shot down. I think that he will soon be exchanged, liberated.

[Piskor] Why did you not take action similar to the one by the United States when it rescued its pilot from Bosnia-Herzegovina after his aircraft had been shot down?

[Agotic] The helicopter that rescued the U.S. pilot was protected by almost 30 aircraft and another 30 would have come if necessary. Unfortunately, we do not have such assets. When Mr. Peresin was shot down during "Operation Flash," the enemy's air defense was so strong that it was impossible to mount a rescue operation, although we do have a specially equipped helicopter for such tasks.

[Piskor] Do you mean the "Mi-24" armored combat helicopter?

[Agotic] Yes, exactly. There is the arms embargo against Croatia, but we succeeded in acquiring several aircraft like this one in parts, but we did not succeed in buying the necessary weapons for their use in combat activities. Therefore we adapted them for the

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performance of humanitarian tasks, for the evacuation of the wounded and the dead from combat areas. These aircraft are armored, so that both the pilot and the persons transported are protected. So far, we have successfully performed rescue operations under heavy enemy fire. This is very important from the psychological point of view too, because our soldiers know that the helicopter that will pull them out and bring them to the nearest hospital can come quickly to the spot if necessary. [passage omitted]

[Box, p 10]

Full Flight Through Tree Branches

[Piskor] We have heard the story from soldiers that one Croatian aircraft flew so low near Petrinja that it brushed against tree branches. Is this true?

[Agotic] It is. One of our aircraft returned damaged since it brushed against tree branches with its wing, but it succeeded in coming back, the pilot did not even notice that it hit something, although he had the impression that he had steering difficulties on his way back. Low flights enabled us both to avoid the Serbian air defense and to find the targets we looked for. This also proves that we had good knowledge of the area in which we acted, that our staff was well prepared, and that we were well informed.

[Box, p 11]

They Thought It Was NATO

[Piskor] Can parallels be drawn, not only because of their names, between "Storm" and the "Desert Storm" actions? Concretely, was there any similarity in the use of the air force?

[Agotic] We cannot compare the aircraft and the ammunition Croatia has with those used in "Desert Storm." Neither can the number of the aircraft used in these operations be compared. The results the air forces achieved and especially their efficiency can be compared, however, since they enabled the operation on land to develop fully, both in "Desert Storm" and in "Storm." We have information that in several cases Serbian commanders thought that NATO helped the Croatian "Storm" on the occupied territory.

[Piskor] Why?

[Agotic] Because shots were very precise and because the time between the moment when the activities of the enemy were disclosed and the ensuing air strike was very short. Knowing our technique and the usual standards, the Serbs could not believe that such a thing was possible, so that they claimed to be attacked by NATO aircraft.

[Piskor] And Croatia was not helped by NATO?

[Agotic] Unfortunately, NATO did not help us. It gave us neither clever bombs nor its intelligence data. On the contrary, if this had been the case, we would have been able to do certain things much more quickly and this would have brought us closer to their organization and the "Partnership for Peace." In any case, we are happy about these Serbian assessments and claims, because they show that we were efficient.

Croatia 'Awarded' for Ethnic Cleansing of Serbs

LD3108171995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1441 GMT 31 Aug 95

[By Nikola Samardzic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 31 (TANJUG)—The 'Independent State of Croatia' ('NDH'), a clerico-fascist state headed by Ante Pavelic in World War II, carried out one of the most atrocious premeditated acts of genocide against Serbs and Gypsies in later European history.

In TANJUG's regular column, 'By the Pen of Experts', Dr. Nikola Samardzic, a professor at Belgrade University, wrote that there were 6,853,000 Serbs in 1941, who made up 50.9 percent of the south Slavs in Yugoslavia, or 42.8 percent of the total population of Yugoslavia.

The 1948 census registered 6,547,000 Serbs (41 percent of the population of Yugoslavia). By 1981, the number of Serbs in Yugoslavia rose to 8,141,000. However, percentage-wise, it dropped to 36.33 percent compared to the other peoples.

The lowest realistic calculation of the number of Serbs killed from 1941-1945 is 744,000, or 56 percent of the losses of all the Yugoslav peoples, proportionately considerably more than the percentage of Serbs in the ethnic structure of pre-war Yugoslavia.

However, these calculations were made before a thorough anthropological study of the concentration camps and pits in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina was carried out several years ago, which showed that there were many more victims of genocide.

A balance of the genocide according to regions was made based on the latest research and the figure arrived at was 246,025 Serb victims of ustasha genocide, though it is believed the Ustashas brutally killed about 700,000 Serbs, Jews and Gypsies in Jasenovac alone.

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Many victims yet remain to be identified, others are still sought after, with much calculation and presumption as to their number.

The ustasha genocide against Yugoslav Jews was in percentages among the highest in Europe.

A little over 81,000 Jews lived in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1941, or 0.5 percent of the entire Yugoslav population, with 39,000 living in 'NDH.'

Only 15,000 survived the war, and only 11,934 were registered in the 1947 census.

The genocide in 'NDH' was carried out against Jews and Serbs simultaneously. About 30,500 Jews from 'NDH' and another 2,800 refugees met their death in Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska. About 7,000 Jews from 'NDH' were deported to camps in Poland. The Jewish Sephardic community in Sarajevo was annihilated.

The recognition of the states of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in the boundaries of the Communist 1974 constitution, in addition to negating the status of the Serbs as a constituent people and their civil rights could perhaps not be considered a legalization of genocide, but surely the consequences of the crime was disregarded in the procedure.

The present-day republic of Croatia committed genocide against Serbs by unilaterally seceding from Yugoslavia and tolerating para-state terror.

Not only was Croatia not punished for its violent secession and invoking of the historical legacy of 'NDH' by keeping the territories in which the Serbs were an absolute majority before the 1941-1945 genocide, but it was awarded with international recognition and protection.

Finally, after the exodus of 200,000 Serbs who took to flight from the Republic of Serb Krajina in August 1995, the Deputy Speaker of the Croatian Parliament Vladimir Seks on Aug. 14 said with satisfaction that the ethnic structure had been altered, with not more than eight percent of Serbs left in Croatia.

Ambassador Zuzul on Future Status of Bosnia

95BA0319A Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 95 pp 8-10

[Interview with Dr. Miomir Zuzul, Croatian ambassador to the UN Mission in Geneva, by Dunja Ujevic; place and date not given: "The Serbs Want To Occupy Even the Negotiating Table!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The geographic location of his workplace puts Dr. Miomir Zuzul at the center of information, and that means at the center of world events. He will take a plane in an instant to obtain a piece of information. He will take any airplane to obtain a piece of unofficial information. In undiplomatic language, he is a diplomatic "fighter."

[Ujevic] Mr. Zuzul, can what has just happened to the Muslim enclaves in the eastern part of Bosnia and the neutrality of the international community be interpreted as tacit consent of the West to the final division of Bosnia?

[Zuzul] The events of the moment could lead to two objectives, which are not necessarily the same, but both would fit into the attempts of the international community to finalize the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. The first objective would be that the Serbs want to occupy that territory in case the international community should accept the concept of a divided Bosnia. The second objective might be that the Serbs want to occupy as much territory as possible essential to the negotiations, so that they would have stronger positions when they sat down to the negotiating table. Up to now, that is, it has turned out that negotiating positions have been determined by how much territory the respective parties control.

If the intention is to achieve the first objective, then the Serbs will take all three safe areas, and they will heat up the war situation in other places. Specifically, they will do this in Bihac, but with no intention of taking it. If their aim is the other objective, then they would also try to take Bihac.

[Ujevic] This, I assume, would have manifold consequences and would also affect Croatia?

[Zuzul] First, I am not certain that the Serbs could achieve that. Politically, this could not be permitted even on the assumption that the effectiveness of the international community should remain at the present level. The capture of Bihac would essentially alter the strategic situation in the field and would threaten the interests of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

[Ujevic] In other words, if the Serbs should decide to take Bihac, Croatia could not remain neutral?

[Zuzul] It is difficult for me to speak about that, because I am turned more toward those things that imply future negotiations. But such a move on the part of the Serbs would certainly be an essential threat to the possibility of attaining a peaceful solution, because it would strengthen aspirations on the Serbian side for creating an expanded Serbia and also the aspirations of the extremist Serbs in Croatia. The Croatian Government would be obliged to take this into account, but so would the international community, because one could hardly imagine stabilization of this region if events took that turn.

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[Ujevic] Does the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina share that view?

[Zuzul] Bihac is a point that does not allow differing perceptions on the part of the Croats, the Muslims, and the international community, assuming that they want peace, stability, and a minimum of justice.

[Ujevic] Let us get back to the safe areas. Is not the West, which is horrified by the idea of resettlement of population, actually carrying out a very inhumane resettlement of population there? Is the main intention to strengthen the position of Serbia by cleansing the territories, or to weaken the position of the Muslims by taking the territories? And in the final analysis, is this in the end a question of a division of Bosnia?

[Zuzul] It is hard to say whether it is a question of dividing up Bosnia. No one in the world is speaking about that openly, but actual behavior indicates that that thinking is very much in evidence. But, according to the rules of the game, a scapegoat has to be found for such a solution. A priori and logically the Serbs are accused, but this is not enough, and so Croatia is also being accused. And when events take a course that discussion at the public level is avoiding, then people invent a secret Tudjman-Milosevic agreement, although since the London Conference there has never been talk about a division of Bosnia. Never! But that does not matter to such speculations. And now that we are talking about the possible development of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, let us speak from the standpoint of world thinking and behavior. As for Croatia, it was among the first to recognize Bosnia and has been behind every solution that led to establishment of the federation and confederation.

[Ujevic] The West will do everything in order to prevent any kind of Muslim state from being born here, will it not?

[Zuzul] That has never been definitely and concretely stated. But, to illustrate, here is a detail from negotiations in which "all sides" were present. In the presence of them all, one high representative of the Serbian side told a high-level representative of the Muslims: "Do you not see that the world wants us to erase you from the face of the earth?! For you to be under the ground, and us to be ostracized for having done it!" No one reacted to that shocking statement.

[Ujevic] And when you put it all together and include the current military situation in Bosnia and the political stance of the West, what might Bosnia look like in the foreseeable future in military and political terms?

[Zuzul] The international community is waiting for a balance of power to form in the field at which it might impose solutions with the least effort.

[Ujevic] Specifically?

[Zuzul] Specifically, there are two possible solutions being counted on in international circles. The first is to accept, at least to some extent, the results of the Serbian aggression and to accept association of part of the territory of other states with the territory of an expanded Serbia, that is, Yugoslavia. That necessarily means a change of the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but some people would accept even a change of Croatian borders.

The second solution that figures in calculations is to impose a new association as a state structure in this region. Even President Tudjman has spoken about this, and this is a topic that is current in the world media. There is talk about a Balkan federation, an Adriatic federation, or a new Yugoslavia. We have no illusions whatsoever that the world would refuse to accept such a solution.

[Ujevic] The eastern part of Slavonia and Baranja would also be threatened in speculations on that first variant, the expanded Serbia?

[Zuzul] Most probably. It is hard to say what their exact aspirations are, but all reports reaching us from Belgrade indicate that they will not give up that territory easily. I would agree with certain world analysts who are very familiar with this region when they say that Belgrade perhaps has the intention of provoking Croatia to attempt a military solution of Knin and Glina.

[Ujevic] What would Serbia gain by that move on the part of Croatia?

[Zuzul] It would attempt thereby to achieve two objectives. First, it would attempt to weaken Croatia's international position, because it is obvious that the condemnation of Croatia is being prepared in a segment of that community if it tries to do that. Second, aided also by the fact that in the West they do not fully understand what is really happening here, it would attempt thereby to cause a flight of the Serbs into eastern Slavonia. It is what has already been seen in western Slavonia, to which the international community also contributed, because it was not aware of what was happening. In short, by the attempt to provoke Croatia to liberate Knin and Glina militarily, Serbia wants, among other things, to change the ethnic composition in eastern Slavonia and in western Srem.

[Ujevic] That would be the most recent colonization, which would be followed by a referendum?

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[Zuzul] The most recent and the most dangerous, because it would be aimed at taking Croatia's territory.

[Ujevic] What does Milosevic have in mind in Slavonia, exactly to what line does he intend to go?

[Zuzul] Knowing them, they are thinking of that line that is the furthest they might reach. For us, then, the essential thing is to recognize those aspirations and to clearly alert the international community to the objectives of that behavior. But the most essential thing is for us to have a firm stance and not too many illusions about the amount of aid the world would offer us. At the same time, it is quite certain that we can count on some help, but it is still more certain that if we do not have a firm stance, then the international community would accept other solutions.

[Ujevic] Would Croatia be subjected to sanctions if it undertook a military action against Knin?

[Zuzul] It is theoretically possible. However, I also think that Croatia has enough friends in the world from whom it can expect understanding and aid and who would prevent the drastic moves of the international community. For that matter, that community does not even have firm mechanisms with which to impose its will on us.

[Ujevic] If the ethnic cleansing of the eastern part of Bosnia were completed, Sarajevo comes next. Speaking not as a diplomat, would it suit the Muslims at all to have the blockade of Sarajevo broken? First, who would stay there? Second, the clearest picture and firmest evidence of Serbia's fascist acts would disappear from foreign television screens.

[Zuzul] Regardless of losing the world's media attention, I think that breaking the blockade of Sarajevo has to be in the interest of all those who want a peaceful solution. There can be no political solution whatsoever unless that blockade is removed. So, that action is a priority task of the international community.

[Ujevic] What are the prospects of Sarajevo being divided into the eastern and western sections of the city?

[Zuzul] I personally do not believe that such division can lead to stable solutions.

[Ujevic] What is the future of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in Bosnia in the foreseeable future, and will the role of the Rapid Reaction Force become clearer in the meantime?

[Zuzul] Unfortunately, their role has never been clearly explained. Those forces are obviously better equipped militarily than the others. As for the UNPROFOR, the problem is not with their military capability. General MacKenzie, their former commander, was closest to the truth when he said that the main problem with the UNPROFOR is the objective they were supposed to achieve.

[Ujevic] The objective defined by the five countries with a veto in the Security Council?

[Zuzul] It is hard to say who is making the decisions. Those five are the most important, but the objective concerning Bosnia is not fully correlated with them. There is also Germany, which does not have that veto, and China, which does have it. In any case, the five are the most essential from the standpoint of regulating future relations in this part of the world.

But if we follow the situation from the beginning of the aggression, the reactions of the international community, and its inability to impose a solution, then it becomes increasingly evident that we are not dealing here with a local conflict, but with the establishment of certain new international relations that also have parallels in other parts of the world.

[Ujevic] It really is obvious that they are trying something here. But what?

[Zuzul] The resolution of the crisis on the territory of Bosnia and on the territory of the other parts of the former Yugoslavia will provide at least partial answers to certain very global questions. For example, the question of the future of the European Union, the future of NATO, or, still more globally, the question of whether the bipolar division of the world has broken down with the fall of the Berlin Wall. Because I think that the world believes that Bosnia-Herzegovina can be the answer to that, and, at the same time, it does not have a priori answers (we are nevertheless dealing with essential questions for humanity), then it is clear why it is so difficult to arrive at a solution for Bosnia.

[Ujevic] A huge part of the answer to those questions lies in the quandary about where Russia is headed?

[Zuzul] Yes. Russia is a very politically sensitive and unstable region. The world has equated Yeltsin with the democratic part of Russia, and that is why it has given him maximum support. What would happen if Yeltsin were to depart is very difficult to predict, and it is especially difficult to predict what the repercussions would be for us. But if we are mindful of events in part of the former USSR, then we can understand why the world is concerned about possible political disturbances in Russia.

[Ujevic] In that context, then, is it possible to forecast the future moves of the peacekeeping forces and Rapid Reaction Force?

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[Zuzul] They might have at least three tasks. One is to protect members of the international community. Second, if there is a withdrawal of the peacekeeping forces, to provide them assistance, or if some solution is adopted, to offer help in applying it.

[Ujevic] Nevertheless, to intervene militarily?

[Zuzul] To intervene, but not necessarily by the use of force. It might also be to give a certain credibility to that solution. As for the behavior of the UNPROFOR, predictions are unprofitable, because a number of factors are involved. But over the next few months a solution will either be achieved or the peacekeeping forces will really be withdrawn.

[Ujevic] Do you also predict the possibility of Bosnia remaining open?

[Zuzul] That should not be precluded either. At the same time, the international community would try to find the ways and means, and so far it has succeeded, of preventing the conflict from spreading outside Bosnia-Herzegovina to other areas of the former Yugoslavia and beyond.

[Ujevic] What are the prospects of the arms embargo being removed from Bosnia in the end? What are Senator Dole's chances of pushing that law through?

[Zuzul] Aside from the fact that it was not ethical, the embargo is also illegitimate in the opinion of a majority. It was introduced for a state that no longer exists (Yugoslavia), not for the newly created states. At the same time, in view of everything we have learned so far, it is not going too far to say that the embargo was imposed intentionally in order to make it possible for the only side that had weapons to finish the war relatively quickly. And third, that embargo is difficult to defend from the moral and political standpoints. I certainly think that Senator Dole's consistent efforts to help find a solution and his constant emphasis on the interests and aid to Croatia and Bosnia are very praiseworthy. However, I think that a unilateral removal of the embargo in the present situation could be a step with a number of implications that would have to be borne in mind. Because I have had occasion to get to know Mr. Dole and his associates personally, I am convinced that if the embargo is removed, then they will be mindful of all the implications of that act.

[Ujevic] Politically, Croatia is again in the background of Bosnia. As though we were on a waiting list.

[Zuzul] Unfortunately, it sometimes seems to me that Croatia is being held hostage to the crisis in Bosnia. The model of Croatia is completely clear and acceptable everywhere in the world. But because the world is interested in global solutions, the opinion wins out that it is better to wait for a global solution in the case of Croatia. It is quite certain that some of the world factors see this as a way of putting pressure on Croatia.

[Ujevic] Pressure concerning territory?

[Zuzul] Either concerning territory or blackmail to make it enter a new Yugoslavia. But those are things [passage indistinct] the way they see them. As far as we are concerned, we ourselves are the factor most essential for ourselves. Croatia will be displaying to the world intensified insistence on solving its own problems, and, at the same time, it will propose a plan for a possible peaceful solution. That is what we have done up to now on two occasions, and in both cases there was constructive progress. We believe that this time the results may be both specific and appreciably greater.

[Ujevic] Is that an announcement of some new Croatian plan?

[Zuzul] The foundations of the solution in Croatia have been well known for a long time. No, it is not a question of a new plan, but of a somewhat different method of achieving it.

[Ujevic] What is that new way?

[Zuzul] We will insist that the international community begin the unconditional implementation of the mandate of the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation], with clear evidence that it wants to achieve the goal of its mandate, peaceful reintegration.

[Ujevic] And if it does not begin?

[Zuzul] If the international community does not have the will or the strength to carry out that mandate and all the decisions made by the Croatian bodies of government, then it is clear that no extension of the mandate will come under consideration. It is also my position that we and the international community have rather limited time in which in the interest of Croatia, in the interest of the Serbs in the occupied areas, but also in the interest of the international community, we must find a way of carrying out that mandate.

[Ujevic] Is this an announcement that Croatian sovereignty will soon be reestablished in the occupied areas?

[Zuzul] We have no reason to doubt that whatsoever. As for Bosnia-Herzegovina, I would not dare make a prediction, but I am certain that the concept of the federation and confederation can and must be achieved, because it is in the interest of both the Croats and the Muslims. I believe least in the future of Serbia or Yugoslavia, if you like. Perhaps there is some historic justice that the Serbs have provoked all of this in

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order to create a new Serbia and not only have they achieved the least, but the future of Serbia is even much more uncertain than the future of those states at whose expense Serbia wanted to be great.

[Ujevic] If Serbia is to be great, then it needs Yugoslavia, does it not? Without the others, it is hard for it to be any Serbia at all.

[Zuzul] That is right. And it will not achieve that Yugoslavia. And if it is to manage to become a normal part of the world at all, it has a great deal of work to do.

Martic Asks for Help for Krajina Refugees

AU3108212995 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 95 p 3

[Interview with Milan Martic, "president of the Republic of Serb Krajina," by an unidentified GLAS SRPSKI correspondent; place and date not given: "The People Know the Truth"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The accusation against the President of the Republic of Serb Krajina Milan Martic that he is not with his people and his army can be compared to the accusation that he and the War Council are to be blamed for the exodus of the people from Krajina. These accusations are tendentious and nebulous indeed, since it is known that Mr. Martic is with his army and with his people. It is true that he is in the Serbian Republic at the moment, but he is extremely active, he is working on the return to the century-old Serbian land, the Republic of Serb Krajina.*

[GLAS SRPSKI] You are exposed to accusations and attacks from many sides, but they have not discouraged you, you are still a hard worker. What are you doing at the moment, and what will this mean for our future?

[Martic] I will start with the following saying: "Do not get conceited when things go well, and do not be downhearted when things go badly!" That is how I behave. The tragedy that happened to the Serbian people, the mass exodus, is not only the result of the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina, but also of the aggression the U.S., Germany, Turkey, and other powers committed against us. As an example I would like to mention that NATO forces helped Croatia bomb Serbian relay stations on Mt. Celavac and Mt. Pljesivica, in order to disable the activity of our information and propaganda system. NATO also helped bomb our electricity supply system, so that our towns and villages were left without electricity.

Regarding the decision by the Supreme Military Council, which is being manipulated and misused by many people now, I can only say that the Council decided to evacuate the civilian population, women, children, the old, the sick, and the wounded from the towns and villages affected by the operation deeper into the Krajina territory, in order to enable the soldiers to prepare their part of the work and start fighting. The army was clearly ordered to regroup and stop the enemy from intruding into the territory, since he had, unfortunately, had certain success in several directions. It came to an exodus, however, the people started moving away. The exodus was also supported by propaganda activities from outside, even from Serbia, which continuously repeated that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia supported peace, that it did not want to wage a war, and our people started leaving their homes. I personally did not want to be their leader and remained here in order to reestablish the army, whose members and the Krajina population in general have never been cowards. I want to establish powerful units for the liberation of our century-old homes. I have already said that I do not recognize the capitulation, and I also think that nobody is entitled to capitulate, not a single person from Krajina as long as he is alive, even if he has to wage a war for 50 or 100 years. We must not allow Croatia to spread to our ethnic territory.

[GLAS SRPSKI] We can see that you are among the soldiers, you are with your people here. This is proof that actions will follow, since the army will, as we can see, consolidate its power.

[Martic] The army is consolidating its power, and we have already created several liberation brigades. I have to thank the supreme commander of the Army of the Serbian Republic and the President of the Serbian Republic Mr. Radovan Karadzic, and Lieutenant General Ratko Mladic, in other words the authorities and military structures of the Serbian Republic, but also everybody else who is helping us. The help we are receiving is twofold: There is help for our army to consolidate its power, and there is care for the civilian population. It is well known that the Serbian Republic has many problems because of the blockade along the Drina River, but a part of the people, the political leadership as well as the army show solidarity with us and want to help their brothers in need. I would like to thank all of them, I cannot express in words everything they did for our people.

Apart from the military aspect, my priority is to accommodate the civilian population that is now scattered around the Serbian Republic between Petrovac, Sanski Most, Prijedor and Bijeljina, supported by the official authorities of the Serbian Republic, naturally. The information I have says that there are 60,000 of them.

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[GLAS SRPSKI] Some of your "critics" manipulate this number?

[Martic] I am surprised that there are people who say that there are no Krajina refugees in this area any longer, which is, naturally, not true. A large number of people stayed here, and we have to care for them. Therefore I am appealing to my government, which is somewhere in Belgrade now, to care also for this population of the Republic of Serb Krajina. We should organize ourselves in a better way, since the Serbian Republic is not able to solve this problem without our help. I believe that this appeal will be heard, and that at least institutions like the Red Cross will stay here in order to see what is going on. I am addressing the same appeal to international institutions too, to the International Red Cross and all others, hoping that they will participate more in the care for the civilian population.

I do not reproach anyone for accusing me. I do not think it is appropriate to make accusations now. I would not like my people—who are here and in Serbia, about 160,000 of them—to suffer because of my statements, because the people know what I would say, they know the truth about what happened. The people were destroyed by being abandoned, by the feeling that they were left alone, so they went to the place from which peace was being offered all the time. I do not want to attack anybody. I would like the official authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro to use the energy they use to put the blame on someone else, for supporting me at least as far as our people are concerned. I am convinced that we can liberate our homes with the soldiers we have; they have proven in many battles so far that they can fulfill all requirements.

I am convinced that our population, who has a hard time now, who lives in halls around Serbia, would like to return to their homes, they would like to repair them rather than to live together with others in a place where they do not have their identity and where they cannot feel at home, where they feel like guests; everybody knows the saying that "in time every guest wears out his welcome."

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Commentary Views Albanian Letter to Clinton

AU0109032995 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 31 Aug 95 p 2

[Commentary by Branko Geroski: "The Road to Uncertainty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The reactions of the political public to the recent letter from the leaders of the three dominant Albanian parties in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] to U.S. President Bill Clinton are not abating. Sometimes they are expressed in moderate statements like "a wrong assessment at the wrong time" (uttered by government spokesman Gjuner Ismail) or the extremist nationalist offer for a "human exchange" between Albania and Macedonia, as suggested by the VMRO-MNDS [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Macedonian National Democratic Alliance] and signed by Tomislav Stefkovski, who suggested a "historical" agreement for an exchange of 350,000 Macedonians from Albania and 450,000 Albanians from Macedonia. Evidently, the letter is assessed as the zenith of disloyalty of ethnic Albanians toward Macedonia.

For the sake of the truth, even a superficial analysis of the letter by Arben Xhaferi from the PDPA [Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians], Ilijaz Halimi from the NDP [People's Democratic Party], and Abdurahman Aliti from the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity]—an analysis that does not enter into the essential elements of the letter to Clinton—discovers a vocabulary that is a most direct insult not only for the state but for the Macedonian nation.

So, to "address" the country (which causes so much suffering for the Albanians) with the term "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" indicates to Xhaferi's announcement that until a "new historical agreement" is reached, the Albanians here will refuse to be identified as citizens of Macedonia, while to rename the Macedonians as "Slav Macedonians" means to openly offend the national feelings of the Macedonian people. This fact is of particular importance because the mutual confidence so far between the Macedonians and the Albanians was based on the elementary respect for each other's feelings. Let us recall: After the euphoria at the beginning of the decade, nobody here thought of addressing the Albanians or renaming them with a name that they consider to be offensive.

Optimists

The central idea of this message from the Albanian leaders of Macedonia to Clinton is to try to convince the U.S. President to encompass the Albanian question in the forthcoming peaceful conference on the former Yugoslavia and to solve it by using "unique principles and criteria." Of course, the message starts from the premise that the international factor will come up with a surprise somewhere on the "green table" and produce a global solution for the benefit of the Albanians, the way the peaceful process "successfully" absolved the Bosnian question so far, from which, as we can see, the Bosnian Muslims are "the most pleased" at this time. This is probably why Xhaferi, Halimi, and Aliti hope that the "international community will finally stop the hitherto practice of awarding the nations that instigate war."

Unfortunately, contrary to the optimism of these three, there are some very unpleasant facts (because of which Mazowiecki, for instance, decided to abandon the mission) and some tragical experiences of the small nations whose hopes that the masters of war will be sanctioned have so many times been disenchanted. There remains the dilemma why the leaders of the Albanians in Macedonia hope that the position of the people whom they politically represent will be promoted if the rule "unique principles and criteria for all" is accepted in resolving the Albanian question.

Are there minimum chances for the promotion of the constitution and the real status of the Albanians in this country at a conference in which the same "rules of the game" for the Albanians in Milosevic's Serbia and Montenegro and for the Albanians in Macedonia are defined? Or does anybody seriously hope that the peace process will force Milosevic to secure to the Albanians in Kosovo at least the same positions that they have in Macedonia, the same Milosevic whose "peacemaking role" and efforts for defeating militant Karadzic will probably procure to him the lifting of the embargo and some other concessions?

Victim

Xhaferi, Halimi, and Aliti must respond to these questions, even without calculating the losses that the Macedonians might suffer at such a session. They would have to do it, because the independent position of this state and the resistance toward any global formula with an involved and crippled Macedonia is of vital interest not only for the Macedonians, but also for the Albanians (this is what Tirana also claims). On the contrary, some will have the right to say that the Macedonian Albanians would be included into a scheme in which they would have at least open borders with Kosovo, even at the price of enjoying less rights in this scheme than they have here and of whose application in practice they have the right to be unsatisfied.

There are some opinions that the claims of the three expressed to Clinton are just an alibi, because they

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allegedly know that the international community will never impose solutions for the Albanian question that will seriously upset Serbia (which is now in a position of an injured lion) and which would suggest autonomous and secessionist tendencies in Macedonia. Let it be so. However, it does not mean that communications with the international factor will not have a special influence on the internal situation. Probably the Albanian electoral body that gave its leaders unreserved support will not ask itself how it is possible for some to claim that Macedonia must accept the western civilizatory code (Xhaferi), and at the same time to ask the Council of Europe not to accept this state "in this or in any other international organization," as the Albanian members of parliament did a couple of months ago. Perhaps, here in the Balkans, where the people are not used to asking over and over again those for whom they voted, the political leaders can push their people into uncertainty instead of accepting, probably the best, but at the same time, the open and hopeful certainty as is Macedonia now. Nevertheless, is there anything like political responsibility, or at least a simple human responsibility?

The Albanian politicians have a legitimate and political right to ask for the status of a constitutional nation, for a university, autonomy, and so on. If it were not so, the highest state act would not foresee a procedure for its partly or even full change. They have the right to hope that with the passing of time, there will be created conditions in which they will be able to persuade the parliamentary majority (the present one or a future one) that their intention is right and that the Macedonians will not lose anything (Aliti). The Macedonian politicians have the right to hope that with the promotion of the status of the nationalities and the promotion of the whole political climate in the interethnic relations the requests of the political representatives of the Albanians will not be of the day and importance. Nevertheless, nobody, nobody at all, has the right to push the nations into an uncertain creation of "history," particularly not now when the people could see how it is done in this region and who the loser is in the end.

Justice Minister Discusses Self-Management Law

AU0109112495 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 31 Aug 95 p 7

[Interview with Minister of Justice Vlado Popovski by B. Gjorgjevski; place and date not given: "We Do Not Deviate From the Law"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Changes in the proposed law on local self-management are possible only through a regular parliamentary procedure with rational proposals that will not distort the basic concept of the law. We do not deviate from the given concept. We do not deviate from the specified percentage that determines a "majority" or "valid" presence of the members of nationalities in the units of local self-management. On the other hand, the concept that we shall develop is a concept of "small" communes, which does not mean that there will not be any exceptions regarding the size of the communes. The expected number of communes in Macedonia is about 70 in accordance with the territorial division of the state.

These are the basic points in discussions with Minister of Justice Vlado Popovski on the defined draft law on local self-management. The legal concept has provoked numerous reactions from the political parties that have a national prefix, and in this relation there have been many remarks related to the law. The Government and the Ministry of Justice are prepared to view new proposals but the announcement is that there will not be any deflections.

There Is No State Domination

[Gjorgjevski] The basic intention of the law is not to make the local self-management a "state in a state" but a "real local authority." However, there have been some remarks about domination of the "central over the local bodies."

[Popovski] In numerous statements it was clearly indicated that the concept of local self-management is the European local self-management that does not imply any elements of statehood. For these reasons it is not the concept of "a state in a state." The conclusion that the "central authority dominates the units of local self-management" is completely wrong because it is neglected in the concept that there is "independent or original authority of the local self-management," an independent possibility for election and regeneration of the institutional mechanism of local self-management. This means that the mechanism is neither elected nor can it be changed by the central authority. And finally, there is a whole system of judicial protection of local self-management from the state. So, it is wrong to conclude that the state dominates the local authority.

[Gjorgjevski] As a contribution to the thesis that the local self-management "must have more authority" is the view that the European trend is "decentralization of power on lower levels," while in Macedonia it is the opposite.

[Popovski] In any way, the trend in Europe is decentralization of the power down to a rational level. The reasons for this are because efficiency and rationality require a part of the state control to be carried out by local self-management. There is such a possibility in the

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law. First, the authority of the local self-management in relation to the strict reading of the Constitution is expanded. Second, within the framework of the constitutional possibility for a delegated legislature, the law on state administration anticipates that a large part of what state bodies perform will be transferred to authorities at the local level thus making the state close to the citizens. The law allows for this possibility and it cannot be concluded that the opposite is being carried out.

[Gjorgjevski] The representatives of the political parties of the Albanians have stated recently that you are "ready to withdraw the proposal."

[Popovski] This is not true. The law is subject to the regular procedure between the Government and the Assembly. In this interim period, according to constitutional regulations for this procedure, as regards the possibility of changing it, only amendments in parliament commissions and the Assembly are possible. In this interim period we shall have another discussion with the mediation of Gert Ahrens in Skopje, and not in Geneva, with representatives of parliamentary groups representing the Albanians, who expressed a need for a more detailed review of the solutions. After these discussions, if there are any reasonable proposals, proposals that do not distort the basic concept of the law—because there is no hesitation about the concept—if there are things that we have neglected in the parliamentary procedure, and here we are talking about members of parliament, they will be able to make amendments and thus complete the law, and we shall accept anything that is rational. However, we neither intend nor need to withdraw the law because of some agreement, to dislodge the government's position and thus direct it to requirements that are not relevant for the adoption and construction of the Macedonian legislature and associate it with a procedure for some conference for former Yugoslavia. We verify our legislature through the Council of Europe, and not at a political level. This law has passed before experienced eyes and all European experts' remarks have been incorporated in it.

[Gjorgjevski] Can there be any changes in the general concept?

[Popovski] No, there cannot. Only some proposals can be considered in respect of concrete solutions.

The Percentage Did Not Fall From the Sky

[Gjorgjevski] The defined percentage of "valid number" of members of a national minority (20 percent) has caused reactions. The Macedonian political voices claim that the percentage is low, while the Albanians say that it is high. Are you ready to give any concessions?

[Popovski] This percentage has neither fallen from the sky nor has it been made up. It is essentially an agreed view of the government coalition partners. It was passed by the government and nobody made any remarks or other proposals. Additional reactions in this regard are speculations saying that it was imposed by one of the sides. The percentage is as it is because the interested sides said so. In Europe there is not a percentage that would mean a "valid number." This number for some countries is when a nationality is represented with 3, 5, or 7 percent, while for others it is 30 or 40 percent, depending on the political relations. We think that in Macedonia we can start with this percentage and that it will be a further step toward the construction of mutual confidence.

[Gjorgjevski] Moreover, there is a request for using two languages in the communes where there is a "valid number" of a national minority.

[Popovski] Our solution is that in units of local self-management whose "majority" population is of one national minority, beside the official use of their language in the bodies of local self-management, also the names of the towns, firms, streets, and so on will be written in their alphabet. However, in units where there is only a "valid number" this possibility is decreased. The language of the nationalities will only be used in the administrative bodies. We shall stick to this solution.

[Gjorgjevski] Alongside this there was also a request for "local police."

[Popovski] This request is not a part of the law and merits no commentary. The police is a typical state body and that is what it has to be.

[Gjorgjevski] There are remarks that the law introduces "national keys" in employment.

[Popovski] There is no such instrument in the law. It has to do with the personnel policy for a longer period, with respect to professional qualifications. The reason is that in a multiethnic situation, it is democracy if, by a natural process, with full regard for qualifications, the citizens have equal opportunities for employment in the administration.

[Gjorgjevski] The law forbids the formation of regional communities. Why?

[Popovski] Because in the Constitution we have one degree of local self-management. If we form such a regional self-management it will require the formation of a second degree, which is outside the Constitution.

[Gjorgjevski] What concept will be advocated in the forthcoming law on territorial division?

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[Popovski] We will advocate a concept of small communes that will not be insisted on at all costs because there will be some areas that will not be divided, for instance, the town region. This means that there will also be medium-sized communes. I cannot say exactly how many communes we will have in the future, but probably we will start with about 70 communes. This is in accordance with the requests and the legal possibilities.

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Ministry Not Adopting Stance on NATO Strikes

LD3008142295 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Polish Foreign Ministry [MSZ] does not see the need at the moment to adopt an official stance on the NATO air strikes. Jerzy Chmielewski of the MSZ told Polish radio that the UN action is an appropriate response to the shelling of Sarajevo. He said he hopes the Bosnian Serbs will come to their senses and enter negotiations leading to a peaceful solution of the conflict.

Senator Criticizes Mrs. Clinton's Visit to China

WS0109103595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 1 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by "AN": "Professor Kuratowska Protests: I Will Not Go to Beijing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Senator [and Deputy Speaker of the Senate] Zofia Kuratowska of the Freedom Union will not go to Beijing to attend the International Women's Conference. In this way, she wishes to protest against human rights violations by the communist Chinese authorities.

Kuratowska told journalists yesterday that the idea of holding the conference in Beijing raised questions from the very beginning. She claims that Amnesty International's latest report clearly proves that unimaginable crimes, sanctioned by law, are being committed in China. Kuratowska informed journalists that two days ago another public execution was carried out. She claimed: "The Chinese people were supposed to see the fate they would meet if they tried to approach participants of the conference and hand them any materials." Kuratowska added that, regardless of how important the issues raised at the conference are, "little girls will continue to be sentenced to death in China, forced abortions will be carried out, women will be raped in prisons, and people will be executed in public."

"I cannot condone crime," says Senator Kuratowska. She accused the UN and the Americans of cynicism. "Hillary Clinton's visit to China depended on the release of Mr. Wu—only because he is a U.S. citizen. We must not forget, however, that prisons are overfilled with Chinese citizens," said Kuratowska.

Walesa Speaks at Solidarity Anniversary Ceremony

LD3108210795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 31 Aug 95

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Celebrations marking the 15th anniversary of the signing of Gdansk agreements and the foundation of the Solidarity trade union were held in Gdansk today. Among the participants were President Lech Walesa and Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski. In the afternoon they laid wreaths and flowers under the monument of the shipyard workers who died in 1970. Sejm and Senate speakers Jozef Zych and Adam Struzik also attended.

The main celebrations took place in St. Mary's Church. President Lech Walesa said that we achieved more than we expected 15 years ago.

[Walesa] "We achieved more than the nation expected during those August days. We won the right to freedom, sovereignty, and democracy, the right to a different system. Winning more is not possible; we can only achieve more by working harder."

In the president's view, we have not, however, become a society of free citizens, and he and Solidarity still have a role to play.

[Walesa] "The time of hope is not yet over. My responsibility has not yet been fulfilled. That is why I have been in public service, and that is why I decided to run again in the presidential election. The need that gave birth to Solidarity has not yet passed; hope for a society of free citizens, who individually look after the good of their families, has not yet materialized. The state still has a say about our incomes. As in communism, the state is still the owner of the greater part of our economy, and decisions are still made by clerks and not by entrepreneurs; promotion still depends on personal relations rather than on an individual's talents and work."

Lech Walesa called on the postcommunist parties to settle the accounts with the past. In his opinion, before the postcommunists show signs of repentance, they should not take part in a democratic game.

[Walesa] "They have not yet settled the accounts with the period in which they held power by force and shaped it with a nightstick. Today, they are again ready to take full responsibility for our homeland. They again show us the radiant future; a single word of apology for the dark past, gentlemen, comrades, is not enough. You are now accounting for the past five years; you had better account for the previous 45 years!"

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President Lech Walesa also said that, to complete the task of reforming the country, he should hold the top office in Poland for the next five years.

Poll Shows Little Support for Reviving Solidarity

WS3108150995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by B.I.W. and A.F.T.: "OBOP: Re-Creation of Solidarity Camp Would Not Be a Good Thing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Would it be a good thing if a uniform Solidarity movement, similar to that in 1989, were set up again?" When the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP] asked its respondents this question, most of them replied "no." These people constituted 43 percent of the respondents. One in three Poles (36 percent) expressed support for the idea of re-creating the Solidarity camp. One in five did not have an opinion.*

The people who were against the idea of re-creating the Solidarity movement were most often respondents with a higher education, with leftist and center-leftist views, and those whose material conditions were relatively good. The idea of reestablishing the movement was supported first of all by senior citizens, pensioners, private entrepreneurs, blue-collar workers, people with center-rightist and rightist views, and respondents in a bad material situation, and by more than half of the present Solidarity ["S"] members. Among members of "S" in the years 1980 and 1981, opinions were divided: Integration of the camp as it looked in 1989 was backed by 46 percent, and 43 percent were against it.

When CBOS asked the respondents a question concerning their trade union membership now and their membership in "S" in 1980-81, it singled out those who had been "S" members for 15 years (5 percent) and those who had split with "S" (20 percent). The former group consists first of all of blue-collar workers, people with rightist views, and respondents with vocational education. Among those who do not belong to the trade union today are many senior citizens, pensioners, private entrepreneurs, directors, and specialists.

Between April and June, confidence in "S" went up by as much as 13 percent. It reached 46 percent. People critical of the union were less numerous—32 percent.

People supporting "S" live primarily in big towns and cities, go regularly to church, and have center-rightist or rightist views. In the latest elections they mostly voted for their union, the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, or parties of the extraparliamentary right. "S" is most widely supported by blue-collar workers, especially older ones. "S" is trusted by 74 percent of its members.

OBOP conducted the poll between 24 June and 3 July on a group of 1,499 adult inhabitants of Poland.

ZChN Support for Gronkiewicz-Waltz Mushrooming

WS0109120595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 1 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by "WZ, WES": "Ryszard Czarnecki's News Conference: ZChN Platform and Gronkiewicz-Waltz"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Committees in support of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz have begun to mushroom. The response to her candidature is overwhelming," said Chairman of the Christian-National Union [ZChN] Ryszard Czarnecki at a news conference yesterday. A few days earlier, his party supported the president of the National Bank of Poland.*

The ZChN has already presented Hanna Gronkiewicz with its platform postulates. Rumor has it they have been approved. Czarnecki summarized them in nine points: Europe, the homeland, profamily policy, mass privatization and reprivatization, the security of citizens, lower taxes, file reviewing, protest against subjugating the state to party interests [upartyjnienie panstwa], defense of the Catholic image of Poland.

Czarnecki assured: "The [central bank] president has the support of many ZChN members."

As he was saying that, Jan Lopuszanski, a supporter of Lech Walesa, unexpectedly walked in. After the news conference, he criticized the decision made by the party authorities. He said nearly half of the ZChN shares his view: "Only Walesa is capable of holding the postcommunists at bay. A politically nondescript person has been supported."

The Conservative Coalition does not exclude the possibility of lending its support to Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz. Chairman Kazimierz M. Ujazdowski mentioned this yesterday at a conference held in Lodz.

Sejm Rejects Defense Ministry Report

LD3108134095 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0715 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 31 Aug—The Sejm, which resumed debates shortly after 0900 today, has accepted the report presented yesterday by the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the results of the investigation concerning the infringement of the nonpolitical character of the Vistula Military Units [where signatures supporting Walesa had been collected].

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In another vote, the Sejm rejected the report by the Ministry of National Defense, which was also presented yesterday, explaining the attempts to infringe the nonpolitical character of the Army.

Funds Assigned for Further Domestic Arms Orders

LD3108140095 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1258 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 31 Aug—The government press office reports that, at today's meeting of the Council of Ministers Committee for Defense Matters, chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak, the state of public order and internal security, among other things, were discussed.

The Committee stated that increased purchases by the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs from the national arms industry would have a positive impact on enterprises, the Army, and the state. The sum of 4.1 trillion old zlotys is to be allocated for additional orders. This will bring about an increase of industrial output by 0.2 percent, financial benefits to the state estimated at about 950 billion old zlotys, improvement in the economic situation of arms industry enterprises, employment for approximately 2,400 people, and an increased level of meeting armed forces' needs. [passage omitted]

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Van der Stoel Declaration on Education Law

AU0109140795 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A short while ago our editorial board received by fax the text of the written declaration made by Max van der Stoel, the OSCE high commissioner for ethnic minorities, at the end of his fact-finding visit in Romania. The declaration points out that the principal purpose of his 28-31 August 1995 visit was to appraise the recently passed education bill, especially considering the importance of mother-tongue education in the protection and promotion of the identity of ethnic minorities.

"While formulating my opinion, I relied on the international standards also pledged by Romania regarding the identity of ethnic minorities, more precisely, the ones referring to the education in the languages of ethnic minorities. I am referring especially to the 1990 Copenhagen OSCE document, the 1992 UN Declaration Regarding the Rights Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities, as well as the Framework Convention on the Protection of Ethnic Minorities passed by the Council of Europe.

"The Framework Convention stipulations referring to the education of ethnic minorities are formulated, according to the explanatory report, in a very flexible way, which allows the parties to act very freely. The explanatory report also points out that being able to speak the official language is a factor enhancing cohesion and social integration. At the same time, the document also lays emphasis on the need to promote tolerance and intercultural dialogue.

"The Education Bill, in the form it was passed on 29 June 1995 allows, in general, for considerable flexibility in the way the law is to be applied. In that context I grant special importance to the clarifications and explanations I received from Romania's Government."

After presenting some of the aforementioned explanations, the written declaration of the OSCE high commissioner for ethnic minorities says that Romania's Government has stated on several occasions that it would fully observe the aforementioned international standards. "Therefore, I expect that the Education Bill stipulations will be applied in accordance with those standards," says Max van der Stoel. "However, while applying these international standards, one needs to take into consideration the specific educational needs of the persons belonging to ethnic minorities, which may differ from case to case. In that context I consider it important that the consequences of applying the new law should be assessed in regular intervals of time. In this appraisal process I would recommend that special attention should be granted to include the social-economic subjects among those that may be studied at government-run universities in the languages of ethnic minorities. A similar recommendation has already been made by Romania's Council for Ethnic Minority Issues. Similarly, special attention ought be granted to ensure education in the ethnic minorities' languages at professional schools, as the interest manifested for that type of schooling by persons belonging to ethnic minorities is considerable.

"I hope that while analyzing the process of applying the law I would also be able to simultaneously consider the numerous normative acts referring to its application, which are still being elaborated. In that context I especially appreciate the invitation extended to me by the prime minister to visit Romania in the near future again," concludes the written declaration of Max van der Stoel, the OSCE high commissioner for ethnic minorities, made at the end of his fact-finding visit in Romania.

PD Head Critical of Vacaroiu's Economic Address

AU0109011495 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 25 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Anamaria Caliniuc: "Petre Roman, President of the Democratic Party: Economic Growth—A Big Lie"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Proceeding from official data issued by the National Statistics Commission [CNS], Petre Roman, president of the Democratic Party [PD], demonstrated—and not with great difficulty—the false nature of the statement made by Prime Minister Vacaroiu regarding the "state of the nation." "The interpretation of the CNS data should no longer be false," said the Democratic Party leader. But the prime minister's speech was based precisely on this method when he tried to demonstrate to us the fact that the standard of living has gone up and that the economy has been revived—in short, that we are living in paradise.

First of all, Mr. Roman said that the "fairy tale" about the standard of living is in reality a nightmare. Thus, the relationship between the indicator of net salary increase and that of prices cannot be 67.7 percent, as showed in Mr. Vacaroiu's report, considering that the net average salary increased in June-December 1994 by 3 percent and prices by 11 percent. Taking October 1990 as a reference point, a hundredfold increase of prices with a less than 60-fold increase of salaries has been registered. In his speech, the prime minister also failed to take into account the fact that there are over 5 million pensioners in Romania whose income has registered in the aforementioned period on the average only a 37-fold increase; he also did not take into account the income

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of peasants. The most clear-cut proof that the statistics have been "tampered with," just like in the glorious days of the State Planning Committee [during the communist regime], is a CNS note that reads that the basis for calculating inflation was modified effective 1 January 1994. Under such circumstances, it is logical that the inflation indexes should "officially" be 11.6 percent, if one takes as a reference point the average salary at the beginning of 1994 and not the one in October 1990, the date of the first liberalization.

According to the same official statistics, during the first half of this year, 12 million kwh has been imported—that is, 40 percent more than during the same period last year. The import of coal and crude oil has also increased, and this is a very disquieting situation, because the very high level of fuel imports seriously affects all possibilities for a real economic growth. During the same half of the current year, a deficit in the balance of payment has been announced as being $773 million, apart from which there are other 300 millions that have not yet been cataloged. In conclusion, the deficit is about $1.1 billion only for the first six months of this year. "Reference is still being made to the heritage of the Roman government." But how can reality be covered with such accusations? Let us make a simple comparison: In October 1991, Romania's foreign debt was $730 million, whose payment was to begin in the year 2000. The country's foreign debt is 5.2 billion.

Lately, the favorite subject of the leaders' speeches is economic growth. But Nicolae Vacaroiu himself has admitted that the stocks represent 72-75 percent of the total production. "With such stocks, the economic growth loses all significance." And even more serious is the fact that these stocks consist mainly of products for which there is no market. Likewise, checking the CNS bulletins, one can easily notice that 52 out of the 148 products tracked and "listed" in statistics are registering a decrease. The most obvious ones are in the field of foodstuff and light industry, due to the decrease in the population's purchase power. And while the government has been boasting, the financial blockage has exceeded 12,000 billion lei—that is, it has become higher than the state budget.

Mr. Petre Roman's demonstration clearly proves the incompetence of the current government. In such a situation, it is very clear that a parliamentary motion cannot yield results while the majority's voting machine is in operation. The opposition's only solution is to convince the people to vote differently than at the last elections. When he reached this point, the Democratic Party president said that the party he is leading will not sign the no-confidence motion that the Democratic Convention of Romania intends to initiate, because his party believes that the motion is untimely. Nevertheless, in case the motion will be discussed in the parliament, the Democratic Party will support it. "This motion was not appropriate for the extraordinary session that we have proposed and the CDR did not agree to support the Democratic Party's initiative" said Petre Roman. At the same time, the Democratic Party leader expressed bewilderment at the statements made by the National Liberal Party's Mr. Mircea Ionescu Quintus, saying that one cannot wish for "removal" of the government without being prepared to take over the ruling.

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Federal

Mulutinovic, U.S. Congressmen Discuss Initiative

LD3108162595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Federal Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic held talks today with an U.S. Congress delegation, which included Scott Basler, Mark Neuman, Bradford Miko, and Dr. Robert Woods.

The American guests expressed particular interest in the positions of the Federal Repulic of Yugoslavia [FRY] on the current situation in the region and possibilities for a peaceful political solution to the crisis. Special emphasis was laid on the latest U.S. peace initiative which, both sides agreed, opens up possibilities for reaching peace, with equal respect for the interests of the sides in the conflict.

It was noted that the FRY remained consistent in its search for a peaceful and just solution to the crisis and that it was investing great efforts for the success of the current peace initiative, the Federal Foreign Ministry announced.

Babic Meets U.S. Congressmen

LD0109142895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1127 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Parliament official Slobodan Babic has said at a meeting with a U.S. Congress delegation that Yugoslavia and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic are strongly committed to peace with a full respect for an equal treatment of all the warring sides.

The Yugoslav Parliament Press Office said in a statement released on Friday that Babic, who chairs Chamber of Republics' (upper house) Foreign and Economic Affairs Committee, met on Thursday evening with Democrat Congressman Scott Basler of Kentucky and Republican Congressman Mark William Newman of Wisconsin.

The statement said this was U.S. Congress officials' first contact with Yugoslav Parliament officials since 1991. The congressmen were interested in Yugoslavia's view of settling the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and especially its view of the latest U.S. peace initiative.

Babic stressed that humanitarian situation in Yugoslavia, prompted by an exodus of Serb people from the Republic of Serb Krajina, was very grave. He said he hoped U.S. Congress would alter its stand toward distributing relief aid to Yugoslavia where about 700,000 refugees were currently accommodated.

The congressmen said that they were satisfied with the meeting and that they believed it would mark a beginning of renewing cooperation between Congress and the Yugoslav Parliament.

Government: Accord With Bosnian Serbs 'Giant Step'

LD3108144895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—At today's session chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] Government concluded that the agreement between the FRY and the [Bosnian] Serb Republic on setting up a joint delegation for the peace talks is a giant step toward peace, the Federal Information Secretariat said.

Federal Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic informed the government on the course of the peace talks and the latest developments in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The government is in favor of intensifying efforts aimed at politically resolving the crisis in the region of the former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Vujovic Praises Pale-Belgrade Accord at Rally

AU3108162695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 95

[Report by Zoran Zeravcic from Sjenica]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Addressing members of the municipal committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] in Sjenica, [Federal Transportation] Minister Zoran Vujovic said that the forces of war had been defeated and that the biggest merit for this went to the SPS and the Serbian leadership, headed by Slobodan Milosevic.

The policy of peace and negotiations and acknowledgement of interests of all sides in the Bosnian conflict is the only correct way and the only response to the actions of those who are sowing the seeds of war. It transpired that Serbia supported the Contact Group plan with a good reason last year and that all casualties over the past year have been in vain. Pale has now turned toward peace because this is the only correct way, securing the conditions for a speedy resolution of the crisis on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Minister Vujovic said and added:

[Begin Vujovic recording] There is a chance to undo what was done wrong. To embrace the leading political negotiating platform of Belgrade and Slobodan Milosevic is the highest wisdom which should now be employed by the Bosnian Serbs. As you can see, this is

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what precisely happened yesterday. Our only chance to resolve the Yugoslav crisis and war clashes in Bosnia peacefully is if we support a unified Serbian policy, a unified policy of Belgrade and Slobodan Milosevic in the negotiations with the international community.

What was accomplished in Belgrade yesterday pursues this direction. Pale has comprehended the outstanding significance of Belgrade and Slobodan Milosevic and the fact that we must act in a unified manner and that this is the only chance to prevent war, further escalation of the war, and its spreading to our borders. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Serbia

Holbrooke Terms Talks 'Substantive, Thorough'

LD0109111395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state and head of the American negotiating team for the former Yugoslavia, stressed in Belgrade today that his delegation was for the first time since the outbreak of hostilities conducting substantive and thorough talks aimed at reaching a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Just before his latest meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Holbrooke said that the talks were encompassing the issue of maps, constitutional solutions, and postwar renewal of the regions involved in the conflict. He expressed satisfaction with the fact that the Serbs from both sides of the Drina River are now taking part jointly in the talks.

Holbrooke added that the American delegation is going to Bonn tomorrow where they will meet the Contact Group for the former Yugoslavia, and that they are prepared to return to talks with President Milosevic if he wishes.

'Ready' To Talk With Milosevic

AU0109111095 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 1 Sep 95

[Report on statement by U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke "prior to the beginning of talks" with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade on 1 September; Holbrooke speaks in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Holbrooke fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] These are the first serious substance talks about the issues of war and peace, following the long 16 months of parallel negotiations and fighting. We are now talking to the leader of the joint delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serbs; we are discussing maps, constitutional solutions, economic revival, and similar issues. I cannot disclose the details of the negotiations, but they are serious and there is a possibility, though this will be tough, that certain progress will be achieved.

Yesterday we talked to President Tudjman and Muslim Minister Sacirbegovic in Zagreb. They support our efforts, although their views differ. The Bosnian Muslims will not allow themselves to be forced to accept a solution that would be contrary to their interests. Tomorrow we are going on to Germany where we shall meet with Contact Group representatives, and Spanish, Italian, Canadian representatives and Carl Bildt, after which we go on to Brussels to meet with NATO representatives. I do not know our schedule after that, but if Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is willing to continue talks, we are ready to return here, Richard Holbrooke said.

Milosevic, U.S. Negotiators Hold More Talks

LD3108221395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2203 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 3 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic ended another round of talks in Belgrade late on Thursday with a U.S. negotiating team led by special presidential envoy Robert Owens.

After the Thursday round, which lasted somewhat less than four hours, U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Belgrade Rudolf Perina told reporters briefly that talks were continuing.

The officials discussed ways and means of reaching a peace settlement for Bosnia on the basis of the United States' plan which envisages, among other things, holding a new peace conference.

The head negotiator, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, is in Zagreb on Thursday, where he has met with Croatian and Bosnian Muslim officials.

They discussed the details of the U.S. plan for ending the crisis, which Holbrooke had discussed with President Milosevic in Belgrade on Wednesday.

Holbrooke is due back in Belgrade on Friday, to resume his talks with Milosevic.

On Saturday, Holbrooke should travel to Bonn, where the five-state Contact Group for Bosnia should hold its next meeting at the level of heads of political departments of the five states' foreign ministries.

The Contact Group was set up in early 1994 by Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany.

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Draskovic Says 'Total War' If U.S. Plan Fails

BR0109110995 Rome IL MESSAGGERO in Italian 1 Sep 95 p 2

[Interview with Serbian Renewal Movement Chairman Vuk Draskovic by "G. A." in Belgrade: "I, Leader of the Opposition, Say: Milosevic Has Truly Changed"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [IL MESSAGGERO] Certain Belgrade dailies have termed the punishment of the Bosnian Serbs too harsh.

[Draskovic] It must certainly be said that it was a brutal retaliation. But I think it is the result of two years of mad and barbarous policies on the part of the Bosnian Serb authorities in Pale, policies which were first and foremost anti-Serb.

[IL MESSAGGERO] General Mladic even disputes the fact that the shell which killed those people in Sarajevo was launched by the Serbs.

[Draskovic] I have no reason to doubt UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force in Bosnia] word, but at the same time I felt the "verdict" was a little too hasty. Be that as it may, I am sure that that massacre was the work of militiamen who no longer obey anyone's orders, undisciplined gangs. And that area is full of such gangs.

[IL MESSAGGERO] Will the U.S. peace plan finally achieve success?

[Draskovic] I am optimistic. For one thing, it is an important sign that the talks have not been broken off. One thing is certain: If the plan does not meet with success, the scenario in the next few months will be terrible, total war between the Serbs and the Croats. The greatest threat today comes from Tudjman. The Croatian president is drunk on military glory. He sees himself as the Balkans' Napoleon, even though his troops conquered Krajina without even fighting. Now he is aiming for eastern Slavonia. If he attacks, there would be a murderous war this time, with thousands of casualties. I hope Germany and the United States stop him before it is too late.

[IL MESSAGGERO] Many people in the West are suspicious of Milosevic's "conversion"....

[Draskovic] Milosevic undoubtedly carries the blame for the war flaring up. But that does not mean that he should not be allowed to put the flames out. Today our country's main aim is to stop the war; anything is welcome to achieve that aim. Nobody must throw Milosevic's current moderate stance back in his face. I think that he is sincere, and besides, you cannot be surprised by human changes of heart. Saint Paul too was an enemy of Christianity and committed crimes and atrocities of all sorts before converting.

[IL MESSAGGERO] What is your opinion of the accord between Milosevic and the U.S. delegation lead by Holbrooke?

[Draskovic] The U.S. plan is like half a move in a game of checkers. It will put a stop to the war, but it will not bring lasting peace; that will come only when all the refugees are allowed to return to their homes. The results of ethnic cleansing must not be afforded recognition; that would as great a crime as genocide. In this war Serbs, Croats, and Muslims alike have all pursued ethnic cleansing, whether consciously or not.

Djindjic on Pale-Belgrade Accord, Air Strikes

LD3108174295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1446 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 31 (TANJUG)—The negotiating position of Belgrade, after the formation of a joint negotiating team of the F.R. Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb Republic, has now been strengthened, president of Serbia's opposition Democratic Party Zoran Djindjic said Thursday.

Djindjic told reporters that the joint platform was formed through compromise when the Bosnian Serb leaders had given up part of their negotiating sovereignty, while, in return, the Yugoslav leadership accepted the minimum conditions posed by the Bosnian Serbs (broader corridor, constitutional system, confederating with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia).

Djindjic stressed that the Belgrade-Pale accord would have to result also in a compromise on the internal plane, in Serbia and in the Bosnian Serb Republic, because the negotiating platform would be deficient without a consensus amongst political parties.

Djindjic said that after the Belgrade-Pale political relations were unfrozen by creating a joint negotiating team, the next step should be the deblocking of the border on the Drina. This step, he said, would not contradict the UN Security Council resolution because the Bosnian Serb Republic was no longer a party which refused negotiations.

Djindjic condemned the NATO aggression against the Bosnian Serb Republic which, he said, was an action of strategical character and the way it was carried out clearly showed its far-reaching aim to have the balance of power changed on the ground.

He pointed out that the NATO aggression set a precedent for the future relations in the world because, after air strikes on the Bosnian Serb Republic, any other country could also be air raided.

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In assessing that the NATO operation against the Bosnian Serb Republic was jeopardizing peace throughout the region, Djindjic believed that the negotiations should not resume as long as air strikes continued.

UN Vehicles Vandalized; Aggression in Belgrade

AU3108131495 Paris AFP in English 1205 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 31 (AFP)—Three UN vehicles were vandalised in Belgrade as NATO planes and artillery from the UN Rapid Reaction Force hit Bosnian Serb targets, a UN spokesman said here Thursday [31 August].

"The local population in Belgrade has become very agressive towards UN personnel," the spokesman, Major Don Roy, said. "There have been three attacks on UN vehicles with damage to all three."

The incidents happened Wednesday during the NATO raids.

The most seriously damaged was a British battalion vehicle, Roy said. Its windows had been smashed and its interior badly damaged by a fire bomb.

No one was injured in the attacks, he said.

Commentary: NATO 'Open Enemy' of Serbs

AU3108234795 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 95 p 8

[Commentary by Milenko Predragovic: "The Other Side of Moral"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the current Balkan domino game, the Serbs are the perennial culprits whether they are good or bad. The latest massacre in Sarajevo was also first announced and then proclaimed to be a Serbian crime, even though the fact-finding inquiry was perfunctorily and very unprofessional. Who fired the round that killed some 40 Sarajevo residents? The international peace forces knew the answer before the fateful round was even fired.

Departing from such a wretched moral, which, just as in earlier cases, will manifest itself in a well-known libretto for the singers of the oil international, the U.S. peace initiative is turning into a tragedy for Sarajevo civilians and the Serbian nation as a whole. The Muslim leaders have fired on their own people before, this was even confirmed, while sanctions were imposed against Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serbs. The Pale leadership would have to be completely insane to order the execution of the latest massacre in Markale. On the contrary, the Pale leadership accepted the U.S. peace initiative. Did the Serbs need to attach the burden of crime to their latest cooperativeness?

Instead of a direct answer, we should approach the subject from a different angle. The Americans owe the world $6,500 billion, and half of this colossal amount falls on the oil cartels of the Muslim states! It is clear that behind this financial wall there are neither the Serbs nor their interests, but the Bosnian Muslims over and over again. The assessments that all hitherto attacks, as well as the latest Sarajevo bomb, were the work of the U.S. intelligence service is closest to the truth. In this project the Muslims are the innocent victims and even more naive recipients!

Finally, the Croats in the Krajina were committing grave crimes against civilians, and NATO, as a sort of American stick, did not even lift a finger. Furthermore, it placed itself completely at the service of the Americans, with the partial exception of Great Britain. The Serbs are constantly exposed to the attacks of this pact. Even during the Croatian aggression against the Krajina, the aircraft of this alliance pounded the Serbian positions, letting it be known, especially to the Russians, who has military supremacy in the world. They have also done this now, accompanied by a timid to nonexistent reaction from Moscow. And because it sported such a stance, Russia will eventually suffer a Chechen attack. The Russian Muslim south is only an American fuse for the destruction of Russia as a country and a superpower. Mikhail Gorbachev has opened Pandora's box, and with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the entire Orthodox Slavic East has become endangered.

The time has come for the Serbs to pull themselves together, because the latest bombings in the absence of additional proofs as to who had truly perpetrated the crime in Sarajevo are a sign (more than a clear one) that the other side is playing an open hand. The objective of this game is to see that the Serbs are treated "as the aggressor" and that they are punished. In order to stand up against this policy, the Serbian people must be unified; however, they must also take a definitive stance toward the international peacekeepers, which in many ways do not serve Serbian interests. The Serbs must also draw the limits of their national interests and clearly present them to the world. Currently, it appears that the Serbs were truly the aggressors in Bosnia and in Croatia.

We cannot escape the fact that NATO is an open enemy of the Serbs. The answer whether to lift our hands or put up resistance to Goliath should also be sought on the basis of this fact. In the absence of a unified reply, diplomatic or military, to the Cold War revenge

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of the West, the Serbian issue will be treated even more dramatically.

SPS 'Conflict,' Relations With JUL Viewed

AU3108205395 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 95 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Milosevic's Strategy Towards the Serbs Across the Drina River Is Wrong"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the latest meeting of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], academician Mihajlo Markovic got into a direct conflict with the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic. As TELEGRAF has discovered from reliable sources close to the Serbian Socialists, Markovic criticized the entire national, state, and cadre policy of President Milosevic....

According to our sources, Markovic said that he did not share the opinions of the state media and some other media that continually praise and glorify the official policy of Belgrade after the aggression against Knin, Drvar, and eastern Herzegovina and that put the blame for the fall of Krajina and the exodus of the entire Serb population there exclusively on the Knin and Pale leaderships. In his critical analysis of Milosevic's policy, the academician did not have any nice words for the behavior of his party leader during the Knin events, nor for his entire strategy towards the Serbs west of the Drina River, including everything that has been happening between Pale and Belgrade in the last few months.

As TELEGRAF's sources claim, Markovic also criticized the "plotting" of Serbian Socialists with the Yugoslav United Left [JUL], and particularly the exaggerated presence of this party in the media, which, as he judged, is the consequence of Milosevic's cadre policy in the official media, primarily in the most powerful media, the television. Qualifying the reporting of the state television as nearly shameful and scandalous, Markovic asked Milosevic to remove the main creator of such reporting, Dragoljub Milanovic, head of the informative department of the Serbian Radio and Television [RTS].

As our sources say, Slobodan Milosevic answered Markovic directly. He rejected all the criticism with the statement that he did not want to be the president of a "state of black scarves" [sign of mourning in Serbia]. In that context, he did not accept the proposal to remove Dragoljub Milanovic, because, as Milosevic judged, he does his work well.

What was particularly indicative at this meeting of the ruling party's main committee, as our sources inform us, was the fact that members of the Main Committee of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], and among them there were the vice president of the party, Borisav Jovic, and the secretary general, Milomir Minic, did not support President Milosevic in his criticism of Mihajlo Markovic nor disapprove of the sharp words of the academician. On the other hand, one member of the main committee, a doctor by profession, supported Markovic's attitudes....

As TELEGRAF's competent sources claim, on this occasion, philosopher Mihajlo Markovic definitely overstepped the "limit of disagreement" in the otherwise monolythic leadership of the SPS. After many public statements that "protruded" from the official policy (particularly when he said that he must watch Studio B television in order to be informed about events at home and abroad, because the state television hid information), and with his earlier open confrontations with the members of the JUL and his polemics with Mira Markovic [JUL leader and wife of Slobodan Milosevic], academician Markovic, as the well-acquainted believe, has now reached the crucial point of disagreement with the official policy of Serbia. More precisely, the point of conflict with the creator of that policy ,Slobodan Milosevic himself.

[Box, p 2]

Socialists Discuss Their Relations With the JUL

Basic units and regional committees of the SPS will soon start a debate on their future relations with the JUL. The TELEGRAF's source in the SPS leadership points out that the membership of the ruling party is confused, because in many places the SPS and the JUL are being equated. "We will discuss the fact that some Socialists are at the same time members of the JUL. Only after the debate will we see whether they will have to make a choice," the source of TELEGRAF says.

RSK Army-Eligible Men Unable To Get Passports

AU3108210195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 95 p 4

[Report by "D.B.": "Only Those Not Eligible for Military Service Allowed To Travel Abroad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The Bureau of the "Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]" in Belgrade is bursting these days. Refugee Krajina residents who have found accommodation in Belgrade and its surroundings are gathering outside their "embassy" for various reasons. They are mostly looking for various certificates about participation in combat, the death of a family member, or various papers needed to register children in schools and faculties. The majority of them, however,

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would like to acquire documents on the basis of which they can obtain a Yugoslav passport, which would allow them to travel abroad. According to an earlier decision of their army, these papers can only be obtained by those who are not eligible for military service (which covers men capable of fighting between 17 and 60 years of age), however, much confusion was created by a recent decision from Bijeljina according to which everybody could obtain documents to acquire the right to travel abroad. After a couple of days, the decision from Bijeljina was evidently annulled.

Ethnic Bulgarians Protest Settlement of Refugees

AU0109104295 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 25 Aug 95 p 3

[24 CHASA staff report: "Belgrade Settles People in Properties Belonging to Ethnic Bulgarians in Caribrod District"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The "Nisava" Association of the Western Outlands Union announced on 24 August that Serb refugees from Croatia are being settled as colonists in Bulgarian homes and properties in Caribrod [Dimitrovgrad] District. The association issued an appeal to public opinion and the state leadership in Bulgaria, asking them to protest to the competent authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The document is signed by the association's leader Mladen Manoilov and his deputy Marin Kamenov.

According to the appeal, the aim of the "settlement is to alter the ethnic makeup in Caribrod District, finally eliminate all Bulgarian elements, and then proceed to plunder Bulgarian lands." The document refers to the thesis of the Serbian chauvinists that no Bulgarians live between here and Sofia, but that the inhabitants are a "Shop nation." [term applied to people living around Sofia]

Manoilov and Kamenov claim that Belgrade's policy has reduced the proportion of Bulgarians living in the Western Outlands from 100 percent to 52 percent. They claim that the settlement of Serb refugees from Croatia is aimed at reducing the numbers of ethnic Bulgarians below 50 percent, which would invalidate the dispute about their minority rights provided for under the Constitution.

The Serbs' place is in Serbia, the appeal asserts. According to the document, the refugees who are now being sent to Caribrod District were originally settled in Croatia for the purpose of colonization. It is high time that they realized who is really to blame for their troubles, the document states.

At the same time, the Serbian authorities in Caribrod District have reportedly stepped up the pressure on the ethnic Bulgarians living there.

According to the document, the Serbs are creating all kinds of obstacles at the border to cut off their family and spiritual ties with Bulgaria. A Bulgarian who wants to visit Sofia to consult a doctor or see his relatives has to pay 40 dinars to the Serbian border official. If he travels by car, the fee is three times as much. Even the Caribrod children who set off to spend their summer holidays in Bulgaria are reportedly detained at the border until the officials are paid off.

It is high time for the Bulgarian statesmen to make a bold stand in defense of the Bulgarians from the Western Outlands, the "Nisava" Association states in its appeal.

Montenegro

Djukanovic Praises Pale-Belgrade Peace Accord

LD3108220695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2138 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 31 (TANJUG)—The ruling Socialist Party of Serbia and Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic Thursday [31 August] stated satisfaction that the Bosnian Serb leadership accepted Belgrade's peace policy.

It was signficant that the agreement (signed on August 29) enabled efficiency in decisionmaking in political talks, which would bring about an end to war and introduce a durable and just peace in the interest of all peoples in Bosnia, the Socialist Party main board said.

The agreement was a political victory for the forces of peace and a political defeat of the forces of war, as set out in the statement.

Montenegrin Prime Minister Djukanovic said the decision of the Bosnian Serb leadership to join the negotiating team with Yugoslavia was encouraging, very sensible and sign that it has finally opted to embrace the peace plan.

Djukanovic told Belgrade's local TV station Politika he hoped "peace would be established in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina shortly."

The agreement, he said, created an important condition to preclude the international community from arguing that it was only and always the Serbs who avoided talking about peace.

Djukanovic believes that, although it was not for certain determined [word indistinct] was responsible for the

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Aug. 28 massacre in Sarajevo when 37 were killed and 85 wounded, yet another injustice had been done and a hasty retaliation against Bosnian Serbs carried out.

In his view, between doubts and definitive retaliation against those suspected much more caution should have been exercized by the international community.

He said that neither by shelling nor retaliation could one move towards establishing peace in Bosnia and in other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

Socialists Hail Accord, Condemn NATO Strikes

AU3108161295 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 95

[Report by Jagos Stojanovic from Podgorica]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro hails the agreement on joint appearance of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS] in the peace negotiations as well as the formation of a unified delegation for the negotiations on a all-encompassing peace process for Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was emphasized, among other things, at a news conference by the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro today.

This is completely in accord with the policy of the party and the state officers of Montenegro and FRY, namely, to proceed most adamantly with the activities aimed at a peaceful and a just solution for the crisis on the territory of the earlier Yugoslavia, it was stated further.

On its part, the Democratic Party of Socialists will invest maximum efforts that the unified delegation gives full support to a positive outcome of the final phase of the negotiating process.

The Democratic Party of Socialists condemns the mass bombing of the military and civilian targets on the territory of the Serb Republic by NATO air forces and the Rapid Reaction Force. The undertaking of such an extensive military action against one of the sides in a civil war in a crucial moment of the peace process cannot contribute to and encourage the efforts to find a generally acceptable solution and a consensus of all sides via talks, it was assessed at the news conference by the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro today.

Kosovo

Rugova Lauds NATO Action, Hopes for Agreements

AU0109112995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova hailed the action of the NATO forces after the massacre in Sarajevo on 28 August. Dr. Rugova told the Kosova Information Center that it was the final moment to rescue the civil population and to regain confidence in the international community.

President Rugova expressed his hope that the NATO action and the diplomatic activity will accelerate the process of reaching political agreements to stop the war in former Yugoslavia and resolve problems in the region.

Albanians Sentenced for Conspiring in Gnjilane

LD3108161795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Gnjilane, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Gnjilane District Court, presided over by judge Stanislav Jovanovic, today pronounced sentences on nine [ethnic] Albanians, members of paramilitary formations, accused of conspiring with hostile intent.

Becir Hodzi, Ibrahim Morina, and Vuksin Nuzajmi were sentenced to four years in prison; Miljaj Muzeciri to three; Haljim Haljimi and Raif Sulejmani to two; Redzep Hamiti and Aslam Bislimi to one year; and Pejtulah Ismailji to six months. They will continue to defend themselves following release from detention. [sentence as received].

The court found them guilty of working from the end of 1991 to mid-1992 on organizing illegal military formations, some 50 platoons and units; monitoring and reporting on the movements of Yugoslav Army troops; organizing so-called revenge groups, charged with liquidating members of the Yugoslav Army and police; mobilizing sabotage groups; and gathering information on strategically important facilities in the areas of transportation and postal communications. This was done with a view to organizing armed rebellion, and the secession of part of the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its joining Albania.

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Serbian 'Colonists' Continue To Arrive

AU3108133495 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 30 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by "M.S., T.N.": "Serbian Colonists Settled and Immediately Employed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian-imposed authorities in Kline Commune say that they have prepared places for 100 Serbian colonists. They have settled 72 Serbian colonists from Croatia so far. The Mirusha and Metohia hotels and the buildings of the Hullia agricultural cooperatives are all occupied by colonists. These Serbian colonists are mainly peasants.

In the mainly Serbian-inhabited commune of Zubin Potok, 180 colonists from Croatia have arrived. Of these, 135 came from Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, and Prijedor, while 45 others came from Dvor-na-Uni. They include paramilitaries from Croatia such as Zarko Treskavica, who has worn a uniform and carried weapons since the first days of the war, and Slavko Jaglic, who, like other Serbian paramilitaries, left his weapons in Banja Luka. One old man of 70, although "satisfied" with his reception, wondered what he will do next.

Tractors and trailers with the effects of Serbian colonists from Croatia could be seen in the yard of the Gjakove [Djakovica] Teachers Training College yesterday. There were also horse-drawn carts piled with Serbian colonists' possessions. The Serbian press reported yesterday that these colonists will only stay in Gjakove if they are given fertile land and if the neighbors that they had in Croatia, who are now somewhere in Serbia, are brought to join them.

Serbian colonists have also been housed in the last few days on the luxurious premises of the Kosovo Elektroekonomia staff vacation homes at Brezovica, as well as in Sterpce. The exact number of Serbian colonists settled in this commune has not been provided. According to the Serbian press, which cannot be trusted, about 30 colonists have been brought. Most of them have been accommodated in the hotels and vacation homes of Brezovica. The Serbian paramilitary Miodrag Puskara and his family have also been installed here.

Final preparations were made yesterday to house Serbian colonists in the Prishtina Medical High School. As is well known, this school was occupied by the Serbian police, and thousands of Albanian pupils were forcibly ejected. Now the Serbian occupiers have equipped this school to accommodate colonists. For this purpose, they have removed the Albanian pupils' desks and have provided beds taken from patients at the Medical Faculty, which the Serbian occupiers call the "Prishtina Clinical Center." The occupiers are also planning to feed the Serbian colonists from the Medical Faculty canteen, thus reducing the rations of the patients housed in the Medical Faculty, from which hundreds and thousands of Albanian doctors, nurses, and other staff were forcibly ejected. JEDINSTVO of Prishtina described yesterday the preparations to accommodate Serbian colonists in the Medical High School. The Boro and Ramiz Sports, Recreation, and Business Complex has been turned into accommodation for Serbian colonists. Earlier, it was seized by the Serbian occupier and its Albanian employees were dismissed; now people are barred from the premises of this complex, even though it was built with the help of citizens' voluntary contributions. The day before yesterday, the Serbian-imposed authorities and the colonists settled in the Boro and Ramiz Center celebrated the Feat of the Assumption (28 August according to the Orthodox calendar). In the evening, the Serbian occupiers organized in the "Red Hall" the "Yumco 1995-96 Fashion Review," the proceeds from which were to go to the Serbian colonists.

The so-called Serbian crisis staff in Gjakove has seized the premises of the Bajram Curri Technical College and the Medical High School in the city, and are working to accommodate Serbian colonists from Croatia there as soon as possible.

The plunder of Albanian-owned shops and private enterprises in Gjakove is continuing. The remaining employees of various institutions in the social sector have been told that there will be deductions from their wages to help the Serbian colonists.

About 200 colonists have now been brought to Vushtrri [Vucitrn]. Many families have been accommodated with local Serbs in the village of Nedakovc. The Serbian administration in Vushtrri has employed many colonists. The Sitnica enterprise has employed seven and the Kosovo construction company has employed 50. The local zinc and vulcanized iron factory and the paint and lacquer factory have also hired many employees, and are prepared to take on unlimited numbers of skilled workers. It is also said that plans are under way to adapt buildings to permanently house Serbian refugees. The commune's Serbian-controlled Red Cross has asked inhabitants with empty houses to give them to Serbian colonists.

Local Serbs Oppose Settlement

AU3108152895 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 29 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Belgrade daily EKSPRES POLITIKA carried today a statement issued by the Association of Indigenous Serbs, stating that their organization is against the settlement of Serbian refugees from

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Krajina in Serbia's territory. The statement also says that the Serbs had established their state during the First World War, without the support of the Serbs living on the other side of Drina River. According to the statement, Serbia was occupied by the Serbs and the Soviet troops during the Second World War and had introduced a dictatorial regime in the country. The author, Vlajko Popovic, said that almost all leading positions were, during this period, assigned to non-Serbs and called for the liberation of the country from the domination of Herzegovina, Lika, and Montenegro enclaves. He added that the Serbian Army and police have recruited many of these newcomers, thus endangering the integrity of the Serbian state. The statement appends that the indigenous Serbs are loosing their jobs and often fired and are replaced by the deserters and refugees.

Settlers 'Not Enthusiastic'

AU3108153795 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 30 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serbian mass media have been offering a wide coverage to the settlement of the Serb refugees in Kosovo and the incentives the Belgrade regime has been providing to those wishing to stay in Kosovo. The Belgrade-based POLITIKA reported today that some 330 Krajina Serbs, sheltered in Vojvodina, were brought yesterday in Prishtina [Pristina] to discuss with the Serbian-installed authorities on the possibilities for a permanent settlement in Kosovo.

Milos Nesovic, the Serbian-installed mayor of Kosovo (Serbian imposed administrative arrangement) is quoted by the newspaper as saying that as many as 8,000 Serb refugees have been settled in Kosovo and that accommodation has been provided for 12,000. He also said that 20,000 Serbs can easily be accommodated in Kosovo. According to Nesovic, farmers will be in a much better position for some 40,000 hectares of farmland would be allocated to them. In addition, he said, Serb settlers will be allocated plots of land for erecting homes; they will be granted loans and other assistance and employment, for many firms in Kosovo have already provided jobs to a great number of Serb arrivals.

POLITIKA says that, in spite of vast promises, Serb refugees were not very much enthusiastic. They suggested that they would agree to be settled in Kosovo if the regime would erect for them a village, similar to one they had in Croatia. The village could be called Novi Balci, New Balci, (Balci is a village in Krajina), with the Orthodox church and other things they used to have in their homeland. The newspaper says that Serb refugees travelled back to Vojvodina without making up their minds whether they would like settlement in Kosovo or not. Some were quoted as saying that they would decide only after discussing these things with their families and relatives accommodated in Vojvodina.

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